Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome

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Edited by
Joannis Mylonopoulos

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CONTENTS

Foreword VII
Authors IX
Illustrations XIII
Abbreviations XVII

Introduction: Divine images *versus* cult images. An endless story about theories, methods, and terminologies 1
Joannis Mylonopoulos

A pantheon without attributes? Goddesses and gods in Minoan and Mycenean iconography 21
Fritz Blakolmer

Aniconism and the notion of "primitive" in Greek antiquity 63
Milette Gaifman

Finding the gods. Greek and Cypriot votive korai revisited 87
Catherine M. Keesling

Gods and Statues—An approach to archaistic images in the fifth century BCE 105
Fernande Hölscher

Greek priests and "cult statues": In how far are they unnecessary? .. 121
Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge

Theseus and the stone. The iconographic and ritual contexts of a Greek votive relief in the Louvre 143
Gunnel Ekroth

Odysseus with a trident? The use of attributes in ancient Greek imagery 171
Joannis Mylonopoulos

The life story of a cult statue as an allegory: Kallimachos' Hermes Perpheraios 205
Ivana Petrovic

Arcadian cult images between religion and politics 225
Tanja Scheer

Synnaos theos. Images of Roman emperors in Greek temples 241
Dirk Steuernagel

Simulacra deorum versus *ornamenta aedium*. The status of divine images in the temples of Rome 257
Sylvia Estienne

The dedication of cult statues at the altar. A Roman pictorial formula for the introduction of new cults.......................... 273
Katja Moede

Ornamenta, monumenta, exempla. Greek images of gods in the public spaces of Constantinople 289
Alessandra Bravi

Bibliography 303
Index of passages cited.. 361
Subject index.. 367
Figures 387

FOREWORD

The present volume derives from the conference "Images of Gods-Images for Gods", which I organised at the University of Erfurt in June 2007. The basic goal of the colloquium was to bring together scholars from various disciplines, nations, and scholarly traditions in order to explore iconographic, iconologic, contextual, and methodological questions associated with divine images in Greek and Roman antiquity. The conference was made possible by the generous financial support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation. I am also thankful to the Max-Weber-Kolleg at the University of Erfurt for cordially hosting the colloquium. Without the encouragement of my former colleague Jörg Rüpke the conference would have simply remained a nice idea. I am deeply indebted to him for his continuous advice and support. Diana Püschel, Gudrun Lichotka, Solveig Hoppe, and Martin Hohmann also provided invaluable help during the preparation and the actual staging of the conference.

The idea of publishing the papers was embraced immediately by almost all the participants of the conference to whom I am very grateful. I am also indebted to Milette Gaifman and Fritz Blakolmer for their willingness to contribute articles, even if they did not participate in the Erfurt conference. I am profoundly thankful to all contributors, only one of who is a native speaker, for agreeing upon a strictly monolingual publication in English. Susannah Edmonds stoically mastered the unthankful task of the papers' correction, and once more the generous Gerda Henkel Foundation stepped in as a sponsor. I was able to finish the bibliographical unification of the individual contributions, the checking of the footnotes, and further editorial responsibilities in a relatively timely manner only thanks to the fact that, during the academic year 2007/2008, I enjoyed the benefit of a fellowship at the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC. I am extremely grateful to the directors of the Center, Greg Nagy and Douglas Frame, for giving me the opportunity to work in such an inspiring environment.

Shortly after the conference, I approached Henk Versnel about publishing the papers of the Erfurt conference in the series "Religions in the Graeco-Roman World". Ever since our first discussion in Heidelberg, Henk Versnel has been exceptionally supportive of this publication, and the volume profited enormously from his scrutinising, constructive critical remarks. I also owe much gratitude to Brill's anonymous internal and external reviewers who decisively contributed to the refinement of the volume. The final publication was somewhat delayed owing to a major relocation in early autumn 2008, and I am indebted to Brill's editorial team for their patience and understanding.

At Columbia University, I consider myself fortunate to have a research assistant as diligent, productive, and open-minded as SeungJung Kim. The detailed index, an indispensable part of any scholarly publication, is entirely the result of her work.

Joannis Mylonopoulos
New York, April 2009

AUTHORS

Fritz Blakolmer is Associate Professor at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna, where he teaches Minoan and Mycenaean Archaeology. His main research interests are the arts of the Aegean Bronze Age (especially wall-painting and relief art), the history of research, colour and its significance in antiquity, and tomb forms of Classical Lykia. He has published widely on all these topics. He is currently finishing a monograph entitled *Minoisch-mykenische Reliefkunst. Grundlagen einer frühägäischen Kunstgeschichte.*

Alessandra Bravi is a research fellow at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at Heidelberg University. Her interests focus on the perception of works of art in the Roman and Byzantine world (*Die Bilderwelt Konstantinopels: Das decorum und die Präsenz klassischer Bildewerke in öffentlichen Gebäuden im 6.–13. Jh. n. Chr.*), images and civic identity in Roman Asia Minor, and the cultural identity of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. Her book *Decorum e senso pratico dell'arte. Opere greche negli spazi pubblici di Roma* is about to be published.

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Milette Gaifman is Assistant Professor at the Classics Department at Yale University. Her research focuses primarily on Greek religious art. She is interested in topics such as the divine image in Greek religion, the relationship between art and ritual, the variety of forms in Greek art—from the naturalistic to the non-figural—as well as the historiography of the scholarship of Greek art. She is currently finishing the publication of her PhD entitled *Beyond Mimesis in Greek Religious Art: Aniconism in the Archaic and Classical Periods*.

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Catherine M. Keesling is Associate Professor at the Department of Classics at Georgetown University, Washington DC. Her publications include *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (2003), as well as articles and book chapters on Greek sculpture of the Archaic and Classical periods, Greek epigraphy, and commemorative monuments. She is currently writing a book entitled *Portraiture and Memory in Ancient Greece: Greek Portrait Statues and their Afterlives, ca. 600 BC to AD 50*.

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Ivana Petrovic is Lecturer at the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Durham. Her research interests include Greek and especially Hellenistic poetry, Greek religion, and magic. She has published several papers on these topics. Her monograph *Von den Toren des Hades zu den Hallen des Olymp. Artemiskult bei Theokrit und Kallimachos* (2007) deals with the reception of contemporary religion in Hellenistic poetry. She is currently working on *A commentary on Callimachus' Hymn to Artemis*.

Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge is Senior Research Associate of the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS), Lecturer at the University of Liège, and scientific editor of the journal *Kernos*. She is the editor and author of many works relating to Greek religion, especially to Greek gods (*L'Aphrodite grecque* [1994]; *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs* [2000]; *Κῆποι. De la religion à la philosophie* [2001]). Her research has also focused on Pausanias, on whom she has published a monograph entitled *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque* (2008).

Tanja Scheer is Full Professor at the Department of Ancient History at Oldenburg University. Her research focuses primarily on Greek and Roman religious and cultural history (*Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* [1993]; *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild. Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik* [2000]), the Roman Imperial period, Late Antiquity, and gender studies. She is currently finishing a monograph entitled *Antike Geschlechterbeziehungen*.

Dirk Steuernagel is a Research Associate at the Department of Classical Archaeology at the University of Frankfurt/Main. His main research interests are the iconography of myth and ritual (*Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern* [1998]), the archaeology of religion in Roman cities in Italy and the eastern provinces of the Empire (*Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten. Soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive* [2004]), and the manifold uses of Greek temples during the period of Roman rule.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Blakolmer

1. “Shrine of the double axes” in the palace of Knossos, after: Evans 1928, 337 fig. 189
2. Wall paintings in the “House with the fresco complex” at Mycenae (drawing by L. Papageorgiou), after: Marinatos 1988, 251 fig. 3
3. Painted plaque from the “Tsountas house” at Mycenae (drawing), after: Rehak 1999, pl. 46a
4. Terracotta statue from Gazi, so-called Goddess with upraised arms, after: Rethemiotakis 1998, pl. 40
5. Seal from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 8
6. Seal impression from Chania (drawing), after: *CMS* V Suppl. 1A no. 175
7. Seal from Crete (drawing), after: *CMS* V Suppl. 1B no. 195
8. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 256
9. Seal from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 63
10. Seal from Tomb 515 at Mycenae (drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 145
11. Seal from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 16
12. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 250
13. Seal in the Benaki Museum, Athens (drawing), after: *CMS* V no. 201
14. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 237
15. Signet ring from Mycenae (drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 101
16. Signet ring from Vapheio (drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 219
17. The “Master impression” from Chania (drawing), after: Hallager 1985, 50 fig. 11
18. Signet ring from Knossos (drawing), after: Evans 1921, 160 fig. 115
19. Signet ring from Isopata (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 51
20. Signet ring from Kalapodi (drawing), after: *CMS* V Suppl. 3 no. 68
21. Cylinder seal from Ayia Pelayia (drawing), after: Gill 1961, pl. 4 fig. 1
22. The so-called Sacred-conversation-ring from Poros (drawing), after: Dimopoulou – Rethemiotakis 2000, 43 fig. 4c
23. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 268
24. Signet ring from the “Treasure of Tiryns” (drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 179
25. Wall painting in Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, Thera (drawing by Ray Porter), after: Betancourt 2007, 125 fig. 6.15
26. Painted bowl from Phaistos, after: Levi 1976, 96 pl. 67a

Keesling

27. Kore statue from the Athenian Acropolis (Acr. 682) © Alison Frantz Photographic Collection, American School of Classical Studies at Athens (neg. AT 454)

28. The sanctuary of the Great Goddess at Idalion, Cyprus, showing votive kore statues reportedly found *in situ* (drawing by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter), after: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. LVI

Hölscher

29. Panathenaic amphora, London, The British Museum B 605, after: Simon – Hirmer 1976, pl. LI
30. Hermes "Simonetti", Munich, Glyptothek DV 37 © Photosammlung Archäologisches Institut Heidelberg
31. Hekateion, Athens, British School at Athens S 21, after: Willers 1975, pl. 30
32. Black figure olpe, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 181, after: *CVA Bibl. Nat.* 1, pl. 35.1
33. Black figure band cup, Paris, Niarchos Collection, after: *ThesCRA* I pl. 2 Gr. 67
34. Red figure hydria, Naples, Mus. Naz. 2422, after: Simon – Hirmer 1976, pl. 129
35. Black figure amphora, Art Market Geneva / New York, after: Kunze-Götte 1992, pl. 33.1
36. Red figure amphora, London, The British Museum E 336, after: *LIMC* IV.2, pl. 355.358
37. Red figure amphora, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, after: Mangold 2000, 55 fig. 33
38. Red figure calyx-crater, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579, after: Trendall – Cambitoglou 1978, pl. 9.2a–b. Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam
39. Red figure volute-krater, Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 44894, after: *ThesCRA* I pl. 1 Gr. 52
40. Red figure pyxis, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81908 (H3010), after: *ThesCRA* II pl. 75.272

Ekroth

41. Votive relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 743 © M. and P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris
42. Votive relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 743 (detail: inscription) © M. and P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris
43. Figure no. 11 on the east frieze of temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens © Hans-Ruprecht Goette
44. Votive relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 743 (detail: left hand of Sosippos) © M. and P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris
45. Votive relief, Eretria Museum inv. no. 631 © Ministry of Culture, Eleventh Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquitites, Chalkis
46. Votive relief, Thasos Museum inv. no. 31 © École Française d' Athènes (Photo B. Holtzmann, neg. no. 32.269)
47. Votive relief, Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino, after: Comella 2002a, 93 fig. 88

48. Suggested location of the Archaic Agora north-east of the Athenian Acropolis, after: Shear 1994, 226 fig. 1 (reproduced with the permission of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)
49. Honorary decree from Athens for Telesias of Troizen, 140/39 BCE, Athens, Epigraphical Museum inv. no. 8043 + 8044 + 8054 © Epigraphical Museum, Athens
50. The Lithos © American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations
51. Red figure pelike, Rome, Villa Giulia 46942 © Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale (photo n. 131141)

Mylonopoulos

52. Red figure squat lekythos, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität 2704 © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Bonn
53. Red figure krater, Schloss Fasanerie 77 © Hessische Hausstiftung, Museum Schloss Fasanerie, Eichenzell / Fulda
54. White ground lekythos, Athens, National Museum 12782 © Author
55. Black figure olpe, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 260 (drawing), after: Anti 1920, 288 fig. 9
56. Boeotian black figure skyphos, Oxford, Asmolean Museum V262 © Ashmolean Museum
57. Marble statue of Jupiter Aigiochos, Cyrene Museum 14.131, after: Canciani 1997, fig. 117b.
58. Marble statue, Aigion, Archaeological Museum, after: Petsas 1972, 498 fig. 1. Reproduced with permission of the Sixth Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquitites, Patras
59. Black figure amphora, London, The British Museum B254 © The Trustess of The British Museum
60. Kylix, Munich, Antikensammlungen J336 © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
61. Kylix, Munich, Antikensammlungen J336 (detail) © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
62. Kylix, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979.11.15 © Author
63. Grave stele from Sardis, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4033 © German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul (D-DAI-IST 73/4)
64. Grave stele from Sardis (detail), Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4033 © German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul (D-DAI-IST R 6196)

Steuernagel

65. Pergamenean coin (drawing), after: Stiller 1895, 53 fig. 3
66. The temple of Artemis at Sardis, after: Gruben 1961, pl. 5
67. Portrait of Antoninus Pius from Sardis © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 71.094:25 (S 61.027.15:03489)
68. Portrait of Antoninus Pius from Sardis (side view) © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 71.094:18 (S 61.027.15:03489)

69. Portrait of Lucius Verus from Sardis © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 00.005:04 (S96.008:10484)
70. Portrait of Antoninus Pius (side view), Castle Howard / Yorkshire, Carlisle Collection © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln (Neg. FA 1665–07)
71. Portrait of Septimius Severus from the Athenian Agora, Athens, National Museum 3563 © National Archaeological Museum, Athens
72. The temple of Athena at Priene, after: Schrader 1906, pl. 9
73. The temple of Athena at Priene (the cella), after: Pullan 1881, pl. 15
74. Statue of Augustus from the Olympian Metroon (drawing), after: Treu 1897, 232 fig. 257
75. The chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia (drawing), after: Curtius – Adler 1892, Tafelband 1, pl. 11

Moede

76. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (left narrow side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223
77. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (right narrow side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223
78. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (back side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223
79. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (front side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223
80. Altar dedicated to Minerva, Rome, Museo Capitolino 1909 (front side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
81. Altar dedicated to Minerva, Rome, Museo Capitolino 1909 (back side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
82. Vesta relief, Palermo, Museo Regionale 760 (1539) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
83. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (front side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
84. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (back side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
85. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (left narrow side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome
86. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (right narrow side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	*Archaeological Reports*
ARV^2	J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters*, 2nd edition, Oxford 1963
CEG	*Carmina epigraphica Graeca*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
CMS	*Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, Berlin 1964–
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby, Berlin 1923–1929
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*
LGPN	*A lexicon of Greek personal names*, ed. P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews, Oxford 1987–2005
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zürich 1981–1999
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969
LSJ	H.G. Liddell – R. Scott – H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexikon*, 9th edition, Oxford 1996
LSS	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1903–1905
Pf	*Callimachus*, 2 vols, ed. R. Pfeiffer, Oxford 1949–1953
RE	*Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – Munich 1839–1978
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*
SH	*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones – P. Parsons, Berlin – New York 1983
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, Los Angeles 2004–2006
West	*Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2 vols, ed. M. West, 2nd edition, Oxford 1989

INTRODUCTION

DIVINE IMAGES *VERSUS* CULT IMAGES. AN ENDLESS STORY ABOUT THEORIES, METHODS, AND TERMINOLOGIES[*]

Joannis Mylonopoulos

Pseudo-Lukian, in his *Affairs of the Heart*, describes the first encounter of a young Athenian with the statue of Aphrodite in her temple at Knidos. The youth entered the temple and upon encountering the statue's unearthly perfection he

> suddenly raised a shout far more frenzied than that of Charikles. 'Herakles!' he exclaimed, 'what a well-proportioned back! What generous flanks she has! How satisfying an armful to embrace! How delicately moulded the flesh on the buttocks, neither too thin and close to the bone, nor yet revealing too great an expanse of fat! And as for those precious parts sealed in on either side by the hips, how inexpressibly sweetly they smile! How perfect the proportions of the thighs and the shins as they stretch down in a straight line to the feet!'

But then he noticed a mark on one thigh, like a stain on a dress, and took it for a natural defect in the marble. The attendant had, however, a different story to tell. A young man of a good family fell in love with the goddess. All day long he would sit facing the statue with his eyes uninterruptedly fixed upon her. One night the unfortunate inamorato slipped unnoticed into the temple, and in Pseudo-Lukian's words:

> Why do I chatter on and tell you in every detail the reckless deed of that unmentionable night? These marks of his amorous embraces were seen after day came and the goddess had that blemish to prove what she had suffered.[1]

---

[*] The present paper profited enormously from the suggestions of David Frankfurter and Henk Versnel.

[1] Ps.-Luk. *amor.* 13–16: ἀϑϱόως πολὺ τοῦ Χαϱικλέους ἐμμανέστεϱον ἀνεβόησεν, Ἡϱάκλεις, ὅση μὲν τῶν μεταφϱένων εὐϱυϑμία, πῶς δ’ ἀμφιλαφεῖς αἱ λαγόνες, ἀγκάλισμα χειϱοπληϑές· ὡς δ’ εὐπεϱίγϱαφοι τῶν γλουτῶν αἱ σάϱκες ἐπικυϱτοῦνται μήτ’ ἄγαν ἐλλιπεῖς αὐτοῖς ὀστέοις πϱοσεσταλμέναι μήτε εἰς ὑπέϱογκον ἐκκεχυμέναι πιότητα. τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἰσχίοις ἐνεσφϱαγισμένων ἐξ ἑκατέϱων τύπων οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ὡς ἡδὺς

This is, of course, fiction. Divine images and especially those in the round were washed and dressed, carried in processions or carried away as booty. They may have been touched and kissed, but they were not physically raped. Nevertheless, Pseudo-Lukian's story[2] raises a series of important issues: the function of statues in temples, their transformation from objects of cult to objects of aesthetic delight—even of sexual desire, the relationship between the image and the god or mortal it represents, the boundaries that separate mortals and gods, and the behaviour of visitors to temples. But above all, Pseudo-Lukian's narration confronts us with questions concerning the parameters that constitute a significant part of the visual construction of the divine in Graeco-Roman antiquity: the style, the material, the habitus, and the ingenious *mise en scéne*.

In the case of the Knidian Aphrodite one may identify several parameters that visually provided an instant understanding of her essence: a) the sensual style of Praxiteles, who was considered to have even achieved rendering the humid, erotic look in the goddess' eyes, b) the Pentelic marble,[3] famous for its exquisite qualities, which could create a fleshy impression without the use of colour thanks to the golden tinge of its iron particles,[4] c) the complete nudity of a divine image in a temple (a highly revolutionary detail), and d) the concept of a sacred building purposefully functioning to stage, as it were theatrically, the unveiled sensuality of the statue.[5]

ὁ γέλως· μηροῦ τε καὶ κνήμης ἐπ᾽ εὐθὺ τεταμένης ἄχρι ποδὸς ἠκριβωμένοι ῥυθμοί … καὶ τί γὰρ ἀρρήτου νυκτὸς ἐγὼ τόλμαν ἢ λάλος ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς ὑμῖν διηγοῦμαι; τῶν ἐρωτικῶν περιπλοκῶν ἴχνη ταῦτα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὤφθη καὶ τὸν σπίλον εἶχεν ἡ θεὸς ὧν ἔπαθεν ἔλεγχον. On cases of *agalmatophilia*, see Corso 1999, 101–104.

[2] For an understanding of Pseudo-Lukian's narration in the context of other ekphrastic texts, see Platt 2002.

[3] Pseudo-Lukian identifies the material with Parian marble (*amor.* 13: Παρίας δὲ λίθου δαίδαλμα κάλλιστον). On the contrary, Lukian refers to Pentelic marble (*Iupp. trag.*: λίθου τοῦ λευκοῦ Πεντέληθεν). Regarding the material, all other sources on Aphrodite's statue in Knidos either remain silent or generally refer to stone or marble.

[4] Moltesen – Herz – Moon 1992, 278: "recognizable [Pentelic marble] from its texture and its warm, golden patina".

[5] Ps.-Luk. *amor.* 13: ἔστι δ᾽ἀμφίθυρος ὁ νεὼς καὶ τοῖς θέλουσι κατὰ νώτου τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἀθαύμαστον ᾖ. δι᾽ εὐμαρείας οὖν ἐστι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πύλῃ παρελθοῦσιν τὴν ὄπισθεν εὐμορφίαν διαθρῆσαι (*the temple had a door on both sides for the benefit of those also who wish to have a good view of the goddess from behind, so that no part of her be left unadmired*). In addition, Corso 2007, 16 considers the conception of the image that emphasises its front and back side part of Praxiteles' theatrical approach to Aphrodite's Knidian statue.

The example of the Knidian Aphrodite clearly demonstrates how important the materiality of the divine figure was. It is, thus, surprising that three of the most recent general studies of divine images are primarily[6] or even exclusively[7] based on textual evidence. Already in antiquity authors stressed the importance of the very physicality of the divine image. Besides Pausanias, the father of art history, Cicero delivered perhaps the most intriguing ancient advocacy for the study of images:

> It has been sagaciously discerned by Simonides or else discovered by some other person, that the most complete pictures are formed in our minds of the things that have been conveyed to them and imprinted on them by the senses, but that the keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight, and that consequently perceptions received by the ears or by reflexion can be most easily retained in the mind if they are also conveyed to our minds by the mediation of the eyes, with the result that things not seen and not lying in the field of visual discernment are earmarked by a sort of outline and image and shape so that we keep hold of as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought.[8]

Sensitivity to visual evidence, of course, typifies many archaeological publications. But archaeology too has its limitations, such as pressing visual materials into overly strict chronological or iconographic categories,[9] which are often incapable of comprehending deviant and hybrid examples.[10]

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[6] Steiner 2001.

[7] Scheer 2000 and Bettinetti 2001.

[8] Cic. *de oratore* 2.357: *Vidit enim hoc prudenter sive Simonides sive alius quis invenit, ea maxime animis effingi nostris quae essent a sensu tradita atque impressa; acerrimum autem ex omnibus nostris sensibus esse sensum videndi; quare facillime animo teneri posse ea quae perciperentur auribus aut cogitatione si etiam commendatione oculorum animis traderentur; ut res caecas et ab aspectus iudicio remotas conformatio quaedam et imago et figura ita notaret ut ea quae cogitando complecti vix possemus intuendo quasi teneremus*.

[9] For example, Damaskos 1999 is a typical study of divine images based on a chronological categorisation, while Filges 1997 represents a study primarily based on the iconography of young standing female divinities.

[10] See, for example, Vlizos 1999. Even if Vlizos' strictly iconographic study of preserved statues of Zeus seated on a throne is helpful, yet by neglecting the literary and epigraphic evidence for statues of Zeus in the same or similar posture the author presents only a very small part of what actually existed in antiquity. In this respect, the *LIMC* entries offer in most cases a more balanced overview of the various categories of evidence, since they offer a more holistic impression of the iconography of the divine in the Graeco-Roman world.

Cult statues: emic and etic approaches

With few exceptions,[11] most scholarship on divine images, whether textual or material in orientation, has focused on cult statues. But in itself this focus uncritically reifies a term that never existed in antiquity.[12] The ambiguous modern terminology and the lack of clear-cut ancient definitions for religious statuary continue to create scholarly phantoms, such as the idea of the Athena Parthenos being a "votive" statue and the Athena Polias as the *only* cult statue on the Athenian Acropolis.[13]

It is one of the contentions of this volume that the very opposition of "cult statue" and "votive offering" is methodologically problematic. Even those images located in the centre of a temple were normally votive offerings of the city to its gods. Miraculous images—allegedly not man-made but instead "delivered" to worshippers as divine gifts—would also be exceptions to the "cult-statue" / "votive offering" dichotomy. Such divine images had to be progressively recognised and accepted as images of cult by a society, incorporated into a normative religious and ritual framework. Thus, in the present volume Ivana Petrovic discusses one such case: the miraculous statue of Hermes Perpheraios as described by Kallimachos. In his seventh *iambos*, the Hellenistic poet allows a statue of Hermes Perpheraios to describe the tormented origins of its cult in the Thracian city of Ainos. Before his semi-iconic image was even recognised as a statue that deserved respect and veneration, its shapeless form was consigned to be cut up for firewood, burned, and thrown into the sea. But an oracle arriving from Apollon put an end to the statue's suffering. Kallimachos's story does more, however, than simply narrate the etiology of a holy statue. As Petrovic demonstrates, the poet ingeniously uses the image of Hermes Perpheraios as a cipher for Archaic iambic poetry. While the statue narrates its story, on a meta-level the poet gives an allegorical account of the genre, in which the *curriculum vitae* of the divine image is embedded.

In a critical study of the use of the term "cult statue" in modern scholarship, A. Donohue has discussed the semantic problems associated with that term. In her case, she comes to reject the category without offering a real alternative to it.[14] Subsequently, T. Scheer and S. Bettinetti have offered in-depth analyses of ancient Greek terms associated with images of gods. In her invaluable discussion of *agalma*, *xoanon*, *hedos*, and *bretas*, Scheer demonstrated that the Greeks had no firm vocabulary for the modern term "cult statue".[15] Bettinetti also studied words such as *andrias*, *eikon*, and *hidryma* and independently reached the same results.[16] The multitude of terms in Greek antiquity that describe visualisations of the divine reveals a fluid understanding of the functions and forms of an image used in cult. Thus, it is obvious that in ancient Greece no monolithic notion of a cult image ever existed. Moreover, the transformation of the honorary statue of the athlete Theagenes on the island of Thasos into a statue that received cultic veneration obviously demonstrates that many images in the round could be cult statues *in spe*.[17]

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[11] Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1959.
[12] Most recently in Boschung 2007.
[13] See the most recent synthesis in Prost 2009.

From a Roman point of view, the situation appears less problematic. In her contribution, Sylvia Estienne demonstrates that in Latin despite the fact that terms such as *statua*, *signum*, *simulacrum*, *effigies*, or *imago* could be used as designations of a statue in general, *signum* and *simulacrum* are the two terms most often used to address images of gods. Both *signum* and *simulacrum* can be, but are only rarely used to describe representations of humans. Interestingly enough, neither term seems to refer to a specific function, but rather to a form of representation: while *signum* is more generally any visual sign of the invisible, *simulacrum* seems to describe an anthropomorphic image. Estienne also discusses the term *ornamentum* and shows that this term can *inter alia* designate a divine image, but of a quite different juridical status: an *ornamentum* can be removed from a temple and its status can change from sacred to profane.

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[14] Donohue 1997. See also Linant de Bellefonds *et al.* 2004 who take a similarly agnostic position. In their *ThesCRA* entry, we read the following very diplomatic definition (p. 418): "Il est usage, dans le vocabulaire moderne, de distinguer les images 'votives', simple offrandes à la divinité, de la statue 'cultuelle', seule véritable représentation du dieu vivant. Cette dernière aurait occupé une place centrale dans le temple, aussi bien dans le monde grec que dans le monde romain, et elle seule aurait reçu des offrandes et autres manifestations de vénération. Or, il faut bien reconnaître que les sources écrites, pas plus que l'iconographie ou l'archéologie, ne nous apportent de certitudes à ce sujet. Il n'existe, ni en grec ni en latin, de terme précis désignant explicitement une statue de culte".

[15] Scheer 2000, 8–34.

[16] Bettinetti 2001, 25–63.

[17] Paus. 6.11.6–9.

An emic approach to defining cult images in both Greek and Roman cultural contexts, one based on the semantics of ancient terminology, seems practically impossible. Etic approaches, which extrapolate heuristic patterns in usage and labelling, may be more feasible. There have been three general dimensions to such etic approaches, concentrating on aspects of an image's 1) position, 2) appearance, and 3) cult involvement. These aspects strike us as significant for distinguishing a divine image as an object of veneration, even if they are not drawn from ancient literary sources.

1. *Position*: In most cases, divine images centrally placed in the cella of a temple are automatically regarded as cult statues, while all other divine images in the spatial context of a sanctuary are interpreted as votive offerings.[18] This line of argument not only neglects religious spaces such as sacred grooves, caves, or enclosures, but also ignores the innumerable statues that were objects of veneration in sanctuaries dedicated to other divinities.[19] For example, Pausanias, while visiting the *temenos* of Apollon Ismenios, saw statues of Hermes and Athena, both venerated by the Thebans with the epiclesis Pronaios resp. Pronaia.[20] Admittedly, the two statues stood in a sanctuary, but not in their own. More importantly, the statue of Poseidon in Elis was not even standing in a sacred precinct: Pausanias refers to an old statue of the god that he saw in the most hectic place of the city, probably the agora, without any integration into a sacred building or even an open *temenos*.[21] And yet, the statue received a garment, one of the most important rituals connected to cult statues. Obviously, the exact position of a divine image in a specific religious

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[18] For example, Boschung 2007, 65.

[19] Damaskos 1999, 1 stresses the importance of the display within a temple, but he also explicitly adds further architectural and spatial contexts such as the gymnasium or the agora as possible places for the erection of a cult statue. He does not, however, explain the reasons behind his considering the existence of bases specifically made for the statues as a significant factor in identifying them as objects of cultic veneration.

[20] Paus. 9.10.2: ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος· καλεῖται δὲ ὅ τε λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραρρέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν λέγεται Σκόπας· μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμηται. (*there is a hill sacred to Apollo to the right of the gate. Both the hill and the god are called Ismenian, because the river Ismenos rows by the place. First near the entrance are stone images of Athena and Hermes named Pronaioi. The Hermes is said to have been made by Pheidias, the Athena by Scopas. The temple is built behind*).

[21] Paus. 6.25.5–6.

spatial context is an important aspect, but it cannot be the only decisive parameter for its characterisation as a cult statue.[22]

2. *Incorporation into ritual activity*: The involvement of a divine image in cult activities has been repeatedly used as a heuristic tool for a reliable recognition of cult statues.[23] F. Hölscher, for example, completely rejected the importance of a statue's placement in a sanctuary and exclusively defined cult statues on the basis of their integration into the cult. This cult, however, had to be repetitive, for the nonrecurring veneration of a statue through a prayer could not transform a dedicated divine image into a cult statue.[24] Although I basically find myself in agreement with Hölscher, the aspect of recurring worship may be somewhat over-emphasised. We should rather distinguish between permanent cult statues and those images of gods that occasionally or under specific circumstances could be momentarily transformed into a cult statue. Herms or Hekataia on the roads, for example, were not permanent cult statues, but in those moments that someone went by and addressed a prayer to them, they were indeed temporarily functioning as a cult statue. Thus, rituals defined cult statues and not the other way round.

D. Steiner described more concretely the kind of rituals that she considered typically associated with cult statues: "Images of tutelary gods worshiped in Greek cities were anything but static, and, unlike the unwieldy 'votive' images whose very size and weight prohibited all mobility, many were carried about in annual processions designed to allow the deity to visit the various chief sites in his or her constituency and reclaim them as their own".[25] One example, albeit chronologically and religiously distant, should demonstrate that the dichotomy of "unwieldy votive image" versus "mobile cult statue" makes a problematic basis for theorizing the nature of cult images. A Byzantine miniature from a Latin and Greek bilingual Psalter dating around 1300 CE shows the veneration of the icon of the Virgin Mary Hodegetria, an icon believed to have been painted by the evangelist Luke. A large icon is shown behind a grille. More importantly, below the miraculous icon is a smaller copy of the image, which was detachable for kissing and perhaps for use in processions.[26] Which is the cult image in such a depiction? Is it the large icon painted by Luke or is it the small icon, the copy, which was also used in a ritual context? They should, in fact, both be considered images of cult, serving different purposes in various ritual contexts.

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[22] See, however, Catherine Keesling's paper in the present volume.

[23] Oenbrink 1997, 329–340 attempted to distinguish between cult (*Kultbild*) and votive statues (*Votivstatue*) depicted on vases based on formal and contextual analyses of the images. He concluded that only the embedment of an image in a ritual act could decide whether the viewer would be able to recognise a cult statue as such.

[24] F. Hölscher 2005, 52: "denn die einmalige Vererhrung der Statue durch das Gebet … macht die als Weihgeschenk aufgestellte Götterstatue … nicht zum Kultbild".

[25] Steiner 2001, 106. On the interconnection between divine image and procession, see also Broder 2008 who studies divine images both as "actors" and as "spectators" of procession, thus offering a more holistic view.

In her study, Bettinetti offered a combination of very concrete characteristics of those statues that should be defined as cult images: 1) they had to have a miraculous background,[27] 2) they had to be placed in a prominent spot within the architectural space of a temple, and 3) they had to be consecrated with magic-religious rituals.[28] The latter element is an inversion of Hölscher's and Steiner's models: in Bettinetti's view, it is not the rituals after the erection of a statue that defined it as a cult image, but the rituals during the act of its installation. For Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, too, such *hidrysis* or installation rituals represented an important parameter that defined a cult image. *Hidrysis* ritual integrated a deity among humans and on a symbolic level signified the very first communication between the divinity and its worshippers. The ceremonial, collective setting-up of an image did not transform it into a god, but it did change it into a cult statue and also signalled the beginning of an interaction between the divine and the human spheres. Cult images were means of communication and in this respect they were very much like the priests who participated in festivals dressed like gods, thus evoking the presence of the honoured deity without being transfigured into a divine being.

3. *Appearance*: Apparently, there is no way to recognise a divine image used in cult based exclusively on its appearance. Moreover, especially in the context of Archaic sculpture the visual distinction even between representations of mortals and images of divine beings seems to be almost impossible, unless the context enables a clarification.[29] Obviously, the same artistic language was used for the visualization of both the

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[26] Cormack 2008.

[27] Faraone 1992.

[28] Bettinetti 2001, 7–10.

[29] The visual ambiguity of Kouroi and Korai led to innumerable interpretations of these two most important sculptural types of Archaic sculpture. For the interpretations of the Kore type, see the table accompanying Catherine Keesling's paper in this volume. Kouroi have been *inter alia* identified as Apollines, Dioskouroi, or anonymous votaries; see most recently Brüggemann 2007, 125–130.

quintessence of young members of a society and the visual construction of divinities: they were both represented with a physical appearance that reached the highest degree of perfection. CATHERINE KEESLING shows in her paper that the visual ambiguity of Archaic statuary had something to do with the fact that its reception in antiquity was more contextual than it was iconographic. Rather than the formal composition alone, it would have been the location and exact placement of the statue, its insertion into local religious traditions and rituals, as well as its historical frame that delivered the decisive clues for understanding the figure. KEESLING suggests that, based on their visual experience, ancient viewers were in a fundamentally intuitive way able to read images and differentiate between representations of gods and those of humans without having to look at images the way modern scholars supposedly do. The difficulties we experience in dealing with Archaic images most probably have no antique equivalents.

Statues could be made out of almost any material, such as bronze, marble, terracotta, gold and ivory, or wood,[30] so that any hierarchy of representations of the divine based exclusively on their material would appear inconclusive. Ancient authors do not seem to have favoured any specific material,[31] although wood and gold were often endowed with special significance (wooden images often denoting time-honoured relics, while golden statues alluding to a Golden Age). Iconographically, the vast majority of images of Greek and Roman divinities are anthropomorphic, but there are, nevertheless, rare zoomorphic statues such as the wooden image of the horse headed Demeter Melaina in Arcadia. Even if they do belong to a sepulchral context, the *aprosopon* statues from Cyrene, most recently re-evaluated by F. Frontisi-Ducroux,[32] demonstrate the wide range of possibilities for the visualisation of the invisible. In addition, aniconic "representations" of gods clearly attest to the importance of non-images in the Graeco-Roman world and show that the visualisation of the divine cannot be exclusively associated with figuration.[33] As demonstrated by MILETTE GAIFMAN, aniconic representations of the divine, for example in form of *argoi lithoi*, were certainly not part of an early cultural and artistic stage in Greece.[34] The evolutionist models, which were usually applied in order to understand the phenomenon of aniconism failed to recognise the fact that the dedication and veneration of shapeless stones was indeed a meaningful religious act in its own right and not a form of primitiveness. Ancient authors who refer to aniconism, such as Xenophon, Theophrastos, or Pausanias, describe the worship of aniconic "images" as either harmlessly absurd or highly esteemed. It is in the polemic of Early Christian authors like Clement that aniconism was transformed into the diametrical opposite of cultural progress or into the symbol of a degenerate or primitive stage in human thought. Aniconism cannot be regarded as especially ancient or meaningful; it is yet another way to visualise the divine.

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[30] Boschung 2007, 74–78.

[31] In Luk. *Iupp. Trag.* 7–9 there is, however, a clear hierarchy based on material and the fame of the sculptors involved.

[32] Frontisi-Ducroux 2009.

[33] Freedberg 1989, 54–81, esp. 66–74.

Furthermore, size cannot be considered a decisive parameter for the cultic nature of a divine image, either: the image of Zeus in Olympia was colossal, but the statue of Athena in Tegea was definitely under life-size.[35] If easily determinable facts such as material or size are not conclusive, can a more subjective parameter such as style then be an indicator of a cult image? The Trojan Palladion is very often represented in a manner reminiscent of Archaic images, while the type of Kouros is used on vases of the fifth and fourth centuries as a visual sign indicating a statue of Apollon.[36] What exactly made Pheidias' artistry appropriate to the gods and the form of the statues he created worthy of the divine nature?[37]

We must now turn to the heuristic method(s) that would help define the iconography of style and the semantics of form in respect to divine images. Archaistic styles, for example, scholars usually attribute to a visual need for quality and stability, the inherent assets of earlier periods.[38] FERNANDE HÖLSCHER, however, illustrates that even if archaistic images were indeed highly esteemed in both fifth-century Athens and Augustan Rome, the conscious evocation of the Archaic style was not simply a way to enhance the religious importance of an image. Especially in the case of Athenian imagery, archaistic style and archaistic monuments should be understood in their specific historical context. On the one hand, HÖLSCHER recognises certain symbols in the figure of Athena on Panathenaic amphorae, as well as in the images of Hermes Propylaios and Hekate Epipyrgidia that would induce, through their form and style, a traditional divine protection associated with a very specific and important part of the Athenian topography, the Acropolis. The reference to the past by means of style did not have a normative quality, but it was used as a visual sign. On the other hand, archaistic divine images in various narrative contexts in vase painting were most probably pictograms for "(cult) statue".

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[34] Most recently on baetyls and aniconism, see Stewart 2008 who rightly stresses that "there is no reason to believe that the treatment of the images themselves [baetyls] was fundamentally different from that of iconic statues" (p. 313).

[35] Based on Statius, however, Cancik 1990 demonstrated that colossality could also have had a special notion within a religious frame. In such a context, colossality probably alluded to the supernatural and superhuman features of the divine.

[36] De Cesare 1997, 91–97 and Oenbrink 1997, 116–124 pl. 31–35.

[37] Dio Chrys. *or.* 12.52. See also Clerc 1915, 203–208.

[38] Palagia 2009, 24–34. Despite Donohue 1988, Palagia uses the term *xoanon* as a designation for Archaic wooden images.

Yet perhaps there is a more unambiguous criterion for distinguishing between cult statues and divine images not involved in cult activities. In my view, the mythological narrative and more importantly its absence could serve as an element for the semantic and functional separation of cult statues from divine images in general. Two well-known examples could exemplify the difference between the two categories of renderings of the divine: the cult statue group in the temple at Lykosoura stood in front of the back wall of the cella and presented to the visitor a quite static picture, for not a single one of the represented divinities was shown involved in any action whatsoever. In contrast, the Athena-Marsyas-Group from the Athenian Acropolis showed Athena in an explicit mythological narrative context. Communication was admittedly the most important aspect of Greek and Roman religions. The visitors to a temple or sanctuary could immediately interact with an image that was presented to them frontally and without being engaged in a mythical narrative. This is exactly the case with the statues in the temple of Lykosoura, where the visitor would have been able to visually communicate with the frontally depicted divinities. On the contrary, any attempt to interact with the Athena of the Myronian group, for instance, would have signified a conscious intrusion of a human being into the divine sphere and mark a break in the fluid progress of the visually narrated myth.[39] The story of Aktaion is one of the numerous examples attesting to the fate that awaited anyone who dared to enter the divine world uninvited and interrupt the divine narrative.

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[39] These preliminary thoughts are part of a study by the author on "The visual constructions of the divine in ancient Greece" started at the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies. For the far more complicated process of visualising the divine in the Arab-Graeco-Roman Near East, see Friedland 2008.

A unique scene on a red figure oinochoe in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (08.258.25) dating around 470/60 BCE illustrates the importance of the one-to-one communication between the worshipper and the divine image: an older bearded man stands behind a statue of Athena placed on a high column. He wears a cloak, holds a staff, and raises his right arm in an unusual gesture of adoration with his forefinger almost pointing towards the statue of the goddess. Remarkably, the statue turns its head back towards the male worshipper, as if it is directly reacting to the attempt of the older man to communicate with the image of the goddess not only verbally, but also visually.[40] It would be interesting to investigate, whether we find in literary sources references to statues that are centrally positioned in the cella of a temple and showing the god or the gods engaged in an explicit mythological narration.[41]

Visually constructing the divine: the life stories of divine images

It becomes apparent that neither the spatial position of a statue in a sanctuary, nor its involvement in cult, nor its appearance can explain by itself the essence of a cult statue. The most reliable indicator of a statue's meaning obviously consists in its integration into ritual activities, but neither literary, nor epigraphic, nor archaeological evidence clearly attests to the ritual context of images. Still, there are some linguistic or epigraphic indicators by which one can detect those images that were involved in ritual activities and thus characterize them as cult statues—with more success, at least, than archaeological and art-historical arguments.

Indeed, the identification of the cult statue from the point of view of archaeology and art history has been singularly problematic. Such fields have no problem identifying as cult statues, for example, the famous chryselephantine images in Olympia, Athens, Argos, or Epidauros, and those statues found more or less *in situ* like the Nemesis of Rhamnous or the statue group at Lykosoura. But what do we do with those innumerable cult statues known solely through Pausanias and other ancient authors, or those referred to in inscriptions? Can we identify among surviving statues cult images mentioned in the literary and epigraphic sources? Not with absolute certainty! And yet, that is not always the most important task at hand: especially if one is less interested in the precise Greek and Roman definition of a cult statue than in the various ways in which images of gods visually constructed the divine in antiquity.

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[40] Oenbrink 1997, 74 pl. 19.

[41] Together with my research assistant Madeleine Kloss, I started a project that aims at the creation of a database of all divine and heroic images described in Pausanias' *Periegesis*. We hope to finish the collection and analysis of the material by early 2011.

The imagery of Bronze Age art in particular demonstrates that even the simple definition of a divine figure can be a methodologically intricate task. Without the support of literary descriptions, the identification of Bronze Age divine images must be exclusively based on the archaeological context and the formal and stylistic features. In his contribution, Fritz Blakolmer establishes that a significant degree of abstraction in the visual conception of Minoan and Mycenaean deities obstructed any tendencies of iconographic specificity in the Bronze Age Aegean. Although there are both textual and visual evidence for a rich Minoan and Mycenaean pantheon, the artistic language neglected (or rejected?) any definition of what a deity might be. Innumerable sacred objects, animals, and fabulous creatures populated scenes of religious character, but their function was certainly not to specify which figures were divine. One gets the impression that Minoan and Mycenaean artists preferred rather anonymous, and thus undecipherable modes of representing the divine. Consequently, the Minoan and Mycenaean imagery of the divine presents itself as deeply iconic in the figurative conceptualisation of forms and meaningfully aniconic in the constant rejection of specificity.

While sacred objects in Minoan and Mycenaean imagery could be used as general ritual signifiers, they apparently did not signify specific gods. The so-called sacred knot, for example, visually evoked an aura of sacredness without pertaining to any particular divinity. Attributes in the arts of the Bronze Age Aegean world were polyvalent visual signs that could be used in different contexts with varying meanings. This principle contrasts long-held scholarly assumptions that certain iconographic attributes (Herakles' club, Athena's helmet, or Hermes' winged boots) served as absolute indicators of divine, heroic, and human figures. The words of the twentieth-century art historian C. Picard typify this rigid association between divine figures and specific attributes: "un dieu porteur à la fois du thyrse et du canthare ne saurait être que Dionysos lui-même".[42] In a brief paper, H. Metzger urged that art historians could no longer regard attributes as reliable signs of identification of divine figures.[43] Although Metzger was absolutely correct in pointing out the severe methodological problems inherent in overemphasising the importance of attributes as absolute signifiers, he neglected the multi-faceted ways that artists used attributes in Graeco-Roman antiquity. In my contribution to this volume I also argue against the preconception that attributes were used in antiquity as mere identifiers for divine images, as some sort of visual caption. Even if attributes did serve an image's recognisability, sacred objects and animals accompanying divine figures contributed so much more. Even the absence of attributes, as in the early depictions of the judgement of Paris, could have been a significant artistic contribution to the narrative qualities of the scene. Thus, attributes were purposefully ambiguous visual signs and their semantic ambivalence was exploited by artists who used them as an initial point for viewers to think not only about the visual construction of the divine, but also about its ontology.

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[42] Picard 1944–1945, 264–265.

The ambiguity of attributes used as signifiers is not confined only to the visual construction of the divine, but can be observed also in the context of heroic imagery. When dealing with the reciprocal relationship between divine image and human imagination, heroic figures should play an important role in our understanding of the process that transforms the invisible into a physical entity. Heroic figures such as Herakles and Theseus clearly demonstrate that similar visual strategies were employed. Gunnel Ekroth illustrates the strategies applied in the visual construction of heroic figures by focussing on an unusual private votive relief showing Theseus being approached by two worshippers. While the iconography of the virtually naked hero is not very distinctive (the helmet is a far too generic attribute to be associated only with Theseus), an inscription in the nominative leaves no doubt that the viewer is confronted with an image of the most Athenian of heroes. However, the heroic figure is visually contextualised and enhanced as an image of cult and Athenian identity by the existence of a strange mound in the centre of the scene that Ekroth identifies with a stone. Owing to the simple addition of a semantically ambiguous object, the heroic figure of Theseus is now embedded in a much broader religious, political, and cultural context: the stone could be seen not only as a generic reference to an altar for sacrifices and libations, but also as a specific visual allusion to the *Horkomosion*, an important location in the Archaic Agora where oaths were taken, or even as a reminder of the stone covering the *gnorismata* central to the myth of Theseus, the prototype of the Athenian ephebes. The size of the figure and its heroic nakedness[44] visually separate Theseus from the worshippers, but it is the stone that transforms the Athenian hero into a concrete figure of cult at a specific locality.

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[43] Metzger 1985.

In numerous narrative scenes that involve heroes, a divine figure is often shown accompanying and even actively helping the struggling hero. Athena introduced Herakles to Mount Olympus, and was deeply involved in Perseus' successful confrontation with Medusa. Thus, gods can be used both in myth and in art as a means for the enhancement of a lesser figure. In a similar way, divine images can become an instrument for the visual construction and elevation of human beings or even objects. The case of the alleged marriage between Demetrios Poliorketes and Athena Parthenos[45] exemplifies, in an admittedly exaggerated form the way Hellenistic rulers and later Roman emperors (ab)used cults and divine images for the promotion of their own agendas. In Greece and Asia Minor, Roman emperors were not always worshipped in newly founded temples explicitly created for the cult of the living emperor, but often together with traditional Greek gods in already existing sacred buildings. DIRK STEUERNAGEL focuses on the phenomenon of the Roman emperor as a *synnaos* of Greek gods. While it has often been assumed that the placement of a Roman emperor's image next to a divine statue in the cella of a temple expressed visually that the emperor was the sole representative of the gods on earth, neither the iconographic nor the archaeological evidence support that assumption. STEUERNAGEL demonstrates that the images of the gods accompanying that of the emperor served as a visual guarantee of the divine status of the emperor. In addition, the association of the emperor's image with the statue of a divinity in the cella would also facilitate the entrance of the emperor's cult into a local pantheon. Thus, in a sense, the divine image was transformed into an identifier of the emperor's divine status. Nevertheless, the relationship between emperor and divinity was always reciprocal, for the conviviality between the image of the god and the image of the emperor automatically implied that the traditional gods were also participating in the Imperial power.

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[44] This is certainly not the place to discuss the phenomenon of the so-called heroic nudity in Graeco-Roman antiquity. See, in general, Himmelmann 1990 and Hallett 2005.

[45] Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 54.6. Scheer 2000, 271–279, esp. 277–279 rejects the historicity of the marriage between the Hellenistic king and the statue of Athena.

That cases of abuse, reuse, or transformation of cult images were not always associated with a religious or highly political background is shown in Tanja Scheer's contribution. The intriguing story of the statue of Athena Alea from Tegea demonstrates that a time-honoured cult image could be deprived of its religious context and reinterpreted as a seal of quality and authenticity for another object that was considered even more valuable. Scheer illustrates that Augustus removed the cult statue of Athena from Tegea and brought it to Rome, so that it could serve as a proof for the authenticity of the tusks of the Kalydonian boar, which he also removed from the temple of Alea. The removal of the statue was not an offensive act of a Roman aggressor against a defenceless Greek city, but simply a necessity for the antiquarian interests of Augustus: the statue—most probably kept in the gardens of the emperor—would have substantiated the identity of the boar tusks. From a Tegean point of view, the loss of the statue did not result in the demise of the sanctuary, for the people of Tegea transferred to their city the statue of Athena Hippia from Manthourea, a village few kilometres away. Just like the original statue of Athena Alea was "re-invented" in its new Roman context, the Manthourean statue of Athena Hippia was transformed into an Athena Alea statue and was re-installed in a new cultic context. Functions, contexts, and identities of cult images indeed appear to have been more fluid than modern scholarship tends to acknowledge.

In art, divine images are often an explicit reference to the topographical context of a mythical incident. For example, in renderings of the myth of Kassandra's rape by Ajax the Trojan statue of Athena is a *pars pro toto* for the temple of the goddess,[46] where the unspeakable sacrilege took place. Moreover, artists also used divine images in a more general way, as a cipher for "sanctuary" or "sacred place". In her contribution, Katja Moede shows that divine images in a narrative context could even be used as a cipher for a rather explicit ritual act. A very specific moment in the life of a cult or a sanctuary may be intimately associated with its foundation. From a Greek point of view, there is no iconographic formula that visualises the installation of a cult, its *hidrysis*. The famous stele of Telemachos,[47] for example, represents the arrival of Asklepios in Athens and the beginning of its Athenian cult in the late fifth century, yet the visual language of the relief is unusual, hardly suggesting any formula for the depiction of a cult's installation. In contrast, Moede shows that in

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[46] Connelly 1993 and the more differentiated Hölscher in this volume.

[47] Beschi 1967–1968b and Beschi 1982.

Roman art of the Augustan period there was a quite concrete pictorial formula for representing the establishment of a cult: to wit, a series of monuments associated with cults of Vesta, the *lares*, and Minerva that all bear a similar motif of a (cult) statue being handed over in the vicinity of an altar. Even if the handing over of the statue is a momentary action, the pictorial formula functioned also as a symbol for the beginning of the regular performance of rituals that would honour the newly installed deity.

Divine images had not only a life,[48] but also an "after-life". Innumerable Greek statues found their way to Rome and its surroundings, where they decorated public spaces, state buildings, and private villas. In some cases, Greek divine images even continued their previous life and were re-used in cult. For example, the cult statues in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine were Greek originals created by renowned artists: Apollo was made by Skopas, Artemis by Timotheos, and Leto by Kephisodotos.[49] In their new setting, Greek divine images were contextually "transformed" into Roman, but they were still placed within a similar religious system. The rise of Christianity, however, meant a radical change in the frame, within which ancient pagan divine images were supposed to function and to be viewed. This historical period of transition is usually associated with the demolition of temples and the destruction of the images.[50] There is, nevertheless, also a very different story of transformation, adaptation, and continuation told in this volume by ALESSANDRA BRAVI. The cultivated classes of the aristocracy in Byzantine Constantinople were reinventing themselves and their past based on the memory of Greek *paideia* and culture. This notion of Hellenicity was visually expressed through innumerable Greek statues of originally religious character, which decorated the public spaces of the new centre of the world. Even if within a Christian context, Constantine did continue in his new capital the Roman aesthetic perception of Greek works of art, which were seen not only from a religious perspective, but also as monuments of victory and *exempla* of social virtues. Surprisingly enough, the Classical heritage of Constantinople suffered its first severe damage as late as 1204 CE, when the city was captured by uncivilised hordes of Western crusaders. The divine images that expressed knowledge, cultural identity, and memory for the Greek elite of the city were for the Christian Latins an abominable world of symbols, which had to be destroyed. The same divine images had obviously shaped diametrically opposite human imaginations.

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[48] Petrovic in this volume.

[49] Lefèvre 1989, 24.

[50] Boschung 2007, 86: "so demonstrierten am Ende des 4. Jhs. n. Chr. die zerschlagenen Kultstatuen und die geleerten Tempel, dass es diese Götter nicht gab".

In the late second or early third century CE, Athenaios is describing the "ordeal" of a man from Metapontum who had lost his ability to laugh:

> And Parmeniskos from Metapontum, as Semus tells us in the fifth book of his History of Delos, a man of the highest consideration both as to family and in respect of his wealth, having gone down to the cave of Trophonios, after he had come up again, was not able to laugh at all. And when he consulted the oracle on this subject, the Pythia replied to him: "You're asking me, you laughless man, about the power to laugh again? The mother will give it to you at home, if you approach her with reverence." So, he hoped that upon returning to his country he should be able to laugh again; but when he found that he could laugh no more now than he could before, he considered that he had been deceived, until, by chance, he came to Delos. While he was admiring everything he saw in the island, he came into the temple of Leto, expecting to see some very superb statue of the mother of Apollo; but when he saw only a wooden shapeless figure, he unexpectedly burst out laughing.[51]

More than any other story told by an ancient author, the suffering of the laughless Parmeniskos is the perfect illustration of the interrelation between described, depicted, or rendered divine image and the human imagination: on the one hand, divine images are indeed shaped by human imagination, by the imagination of a society longing for the visualisation of the invisible in word and image and by the imagination of the artist or the author reacting to the call of his social surrounding. But on the other hand, these divine images—conceived, invented, visually and verbally produced in various historical and ritual situations—in turn became models that would "mould" human imagination. To return to our opening narrative, this is the reason why the tormented visitor from Metapontum laughed at the shapeless wooden statue of Leto on Delos. Parmeniskos' experience as a viewer of divine images—his "visual past," as it were—could not have prepared him for the "image" he encountered on entering the temple of the goddess. The dissonance he experienced between *vision* and *remembrance* demonstrates the interdependency between divine image and human imagination in Graeco-Roman antiquity and beyond.

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[51] Athen. 14.2: Παρμενίσκος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος, ὥς φησιν Σῆμος ἐν έ Δηλιάδος καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύων εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβὰς καὶ ἀνελθὼν οὐκ ἔτι γελᾶν ἐδύνατο. καὶ χρηστηριαζομένῳ περὶ τούτου ἡ Πυθία ἔφη· εἴρῃ μ᾽ ἀμφὶ γέλωτος, ἀμείλιχε, μειλιχίοιο· δώσει σοι μήτηρ οἴκοι· τὴν ἔξοχα τῖε. ἐλπίζων δ᾽ ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα γελάσειν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν πλέον, οἰόμενος ἐξηπατῆσθαι ἔρχεταί ποτε κατὰ τύχην εἰς Δῆλον· καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον θαυμάζων ἦλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Λητῷον, νομίζων τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος μητρὸς ἄγαλμα τι θεωρήσειν ἀξιόλογον· ἰδὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸ ξύλον ὂν ἄμορφον παραδόξως ἐγέλασεν.

A PANTHEON WITHOUT ATTRIBUTES? GODDESSES AND GODS IN MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN ICONOGRAPHY[*]

Fritz Blakolmer

More than a hundred years after the beginning of Arthur Evans' excavations at the palace of Knossos, scholarship is still unable to decide whether a single "Great Mother Goddess" or a manifold pantheon of numerous female and male deities was worshipped on Minoan Crete. As regards Mycenaean Greece, more than half a century ago the Linear B texts were deciphered and their content became accessible. This, however, does not suggest that our attempts to correlate the textual evidence for Mycenaean deities with the archaeological and iconographic sources have been successful. As a consequence, M.P. Nilsson's often-cited statement about Aegean Bronze Age religion as being a "picture book without text" holds widely true even today.[1] These brief introductory observations suffice to demonstrate that the knowledge of Minoan and Mycenaean religion still stands rather somewhere at its beginning. Thus, an adequate analysis of Aegean religious systems requires many methodologically fresh and interdisciplinary approaches. The omnipresence of religion in Aegean Bronze Age societies cannot be thoroughly investigated in all its aspects in the present article, so that this contribution will focus on some central problems of religious iconography, aiming at an adequate comprehension of the existing problems in the visual definition of images of deities in Aegean prehistory.

A study of this kind has to start with an elaboration on the question of polytheistic systems in the Aegean Bronze Age and a discussion of the evidence for divinities in the various media of information. The question about the existence of cult images in the Aegean and the notion of attributes in Aegean religious iconography constitute essential points that would lead further into the topic of a definition of divine figures. These topics are closely interrelated to each other and enable a more adequate consideration of the iconography of Minoan and Mycenaean deities. Since the aim of this study is mainly to discuss some methodological problems when dealing with Aegean iconography, it appears reasonable to treat Minoan and Mycenaean religious systems in their entirety. Although the actual evidence for a Minoan pantheon on Neopalatial Crete (*ca.* 1700/1760–1450 BCE) is by no means identical with that of the Mycenaean palace period (*ca.* 1370–1200 BCE), the archaeological sources as well as the iconographic problems in defining a divine figure are in fact very similar. This should not imply, however, that my approach postulates a common, homogeneous "Minoan-Mycenaean religion". Although in the present contribution several problems of Aegean Bronze Age religion will be addressed, it is clear that none of them can be discussed exhaustively or even solved in the space limitations of a short article. Thus, the aim is not so much to formulate any final solutions, but rather to outline the character of possible methodological and iconographic problems.

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[*] I am very grateful to Joannis Mylonopoulos for his kind invitation to contribute to the present volume. I am further indebted to Walter Müller and Ingo Pini for giving me some helpful information and to Philip P. Betancourt and Ray Porter for allowing the reproduction of *fig. 25*.

[1] Nilsson 1927, 7; Nilsson 1968, 7.

The limits of concretisation in the imagery of the Bronze Age Aegean

At first sight, the large amount of narrative scenes of religious or ritual character in Aegean wall paintings, seal images, relief art, and free-standing figures seems to offer highly appropriate preconditions for the discussion and definition of Minoan and Mycenaean divine images. Aegean figurative art is by itself all but profane. However, a deeper insight into this prominent topic of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology reveals the same strong, almost insurmountable barriers, which are so characteristic of Aegean imagery in its entirety. Before moving to religious iconography itself, we have to be aware of the very special character of palatial iconography and artistic language of Minoan Crete and the Mycenaean mainland, both of them lacking several features essential to the arts of other Eastern Mediterranean civilizations as well as to Classical antiquity.[2]

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[2] See also Blakolmer 2007b, esp. 213–217.

Minoan and Mycenaean arts are strongly connected with palaces and their "derivatives", such as so-called Minoan villas and rich Mycenaean tombs, *i.e.* with the highest level of palatial elites. What appears even more remarkable is that in sharp contrast to contemporary civilizations of the Near East, in the Aegean Bronze Age monumental arts for a public audience are mostly missing. Therefore, Aegean iconography is confined to very peculiar fields of visual communication: images are concentrated on objects of prestige, on seal stones and signet-rings, on ritual vessels circulating among members of the elite, on monumental wall paintings in high-level, palatial architecture and, last but not least, on figurines in different materials such as ivory, bronze, and terracotta, in the last case reaching a slightly broader audience. Thus, figurative scenes in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography are basically coined by elevated palatial ideas and reflect very seldom a regional diversity. This already warns us against prematurely expecting a multitude of "iconographic dialects", *i.e.* the depiction of any local divinities in images on prestigious artefacts in the palatial periods of the Aegean.

The iconography of the Aegean Bronze Age confronts the viewer with a highly anonymous visual world composed by figures that widely lack features of individuality such as portraiture and annotated names or texts. Whereas the existence of individual rulers can be denied neither on Minoan Crete nor in Mycenaean Greece, both cultures lack any images of a portrayed ruler.[3] Furthermore, not in a single case might we detect the depiction of an individual event of historical character. Wall paintings, stone relief vessels, seal images and further iconographic media are depicting mainly generic scenes. Political and cosmological ideologies of the elites have rather been transported on a metaphorical level of "hyper-individual" character. Thus, Aegean art appears of a widely "apolitical" and non-historical character. A further point is the question of mythological scenes and heroes in Aegean iconography: in spite of the existence of numerous hybrid animals, such as griffins, sphinxes, and *Ta-wrt* demons, a concrete reconstruction of any coherent mythological cycles in Minoan as well as in Mycenaean iconography simply appears impossible.[4] Furthermore, there hardly exists any clear distinction between humans and supernatural, heroic beings in human shape. No special figurative category of heroes, for example, definable by nakedness, long hairs or other distinctive attributes, can be found in the iconography of Bronze Age

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[3] *Cf.* Davis 1995.

[4] *Cf.*, for example, van Leuven 1996.

Greece. In these and further respects, Aegean art, and apparently also Aegean ideology, functioned in a way different from those of Egypt, the Near East, and Homeric and post-Homeric Greece.

In the early twenty-first century, scholarship cannot but admit that the range of Aegean narrative scenes known to date is statistically relevant, and therefore, the problems we are confronted with are certainly not due to our incomplete knowledge of the artefacts. We have to realise that Minoan as well as Mycenaean iconography obviously had a lot of particularities, so that it may appear to us rather strange and even enigmatic. Thus, the nature and the rigid limits of visual narratives in the arts of the Aegean Bronze Age are not the most fruitful context for a more concrete depiction of clearly definable and recognisable gods and goddesses in Minoan and Mycenaean figurative arts. This fact causes considerable problems in identifying and understanding the innumerable images of an apparent religious and ceremonial character.

Polytheistic systems of belief?

Among Aegean archaeologists, there is a certain anxiety to prematurely dismiss any hypothesis towards the existence of a monotheistic religious concept on Minoan Crete. Most historians of religion, however, would agree that such a "monotheistic model" bears a very low or no probability.[5] Nevertheless, in Aegean studies, the idea of a universal "Great Minoan Goddess" is a traditional and widespread one, and this appears quite reasonable, at least at first sight.[6] A. Evans' observation that in Minoan Crete "we do not encounter any such multiplicity of divinities as in the Classical World"[7] still characterises our impression. Nevertheless, as it has been briefly demonstrated above, Aegean visual rhetorics appear highly peculiar and by no means clearly understandable. The main problem in recognising polytheistic systems of belief in Aegean Bronze Age civilizations derives from the fact that Minoans as well as Mycenaeans depicted their deities mainly as unspecific humans. Although there does exist a consensus among scholars that, for example, the male figure shown in a dominating pose on the so-called Master Impression from Chania (*fig. 17*)[8] represents "the most powerful expression of a divinity",[9] scholarly arguments for clear rules about the visual definition of a divinity in the Bronze Age arts can hardly be brought forward. In order to attain a more concrete picture of an Aegean pantheon and to demonstrate the problems that accompany such an endeavour, a brief survey through the diverse fields of evidence might be helpful.

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[5] See the scepticism already expressed by Nilsson 1968, 389–394 and Marinatos 1993, 165–166.

[6] Dickinson 1994, 173–184; Goodison – Morris 1998; Peatfield 2000; Moss 2005, 151–209; Morris 2006.

[7] Evans 1928, 277.

The textual evidence

The Linear B texts engraved on clay tablets offer important first-hand information, however filtered by the bureaucratic necessities, about the existence of a rich pantheon in the Mycenaean palace-states of Pylos, Thebes, Mycenae, Knossos, and Chania, for they mention the names of at least thirty four male and female divinities as recipients of offerings, but also in other contexts.[10] These records in early Greek language clearly demonstrate the existence of several deities shared by different regions of the Late Mycenaean world such as Messenia and Crete during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, whereas a considerable number of gods and goddesses are mentioned only in texts from a single palace site. While many theonyms reveal close linguistic correspondences to the later Greek pantheon, there exist also a variety of divinities whose names were lost before the first millennium BCE. Among the theonyms that occur in more than one palace archive range *po-se-da-o* (Poseidon), *di-we/wo* (Zeus/Dios), *a-re* (Ares), *e-ma-a*$_2$ (Hermes), *di-wo-nu-so* (Dionysos), and *ma-ri-ne-u* (Marineus). Linear B tablets from Pylos exclusively record deities such as *po-si-da-e-ja* (the female counterpart to Poseidon), *a-ti-mi-te* (dative of Artemis?), *ma-te-re te-i-ja* (dative of Mater Theia), *i-pe-me-de-ja* (Iphimedeia), *ma-na-sa* (Manasa), and *do-po-ta* (Despotes). In addition, some gods and goddesses are only attested in the Linear B texts from Knossos, for example, goddesses called *pi-pi-tu-na* (Piptuna; *cf.* Diktynna), *e-re-u-ti-ja* (Eleuthia/Eileithyia), *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$ (Aphetria), and *e-ri-nu-we* (Erinys) as well as gods such as *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (Enyalios) and *pa-ja-wo-ne* (Pai[a]on). A prominent name in the Mycenaean pantheon in the mainland as well as on Crete is *po-ti-ni-ja* (Potnia) occurring in every palace archive with varying *epikleseis* such as *i-qe-ja po-ti-ni-ja* (Potnia Hippeia) and *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* (Potnia Aswija) at Pylos, *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* (Potnia Sito) at Mycenae, as well as *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (Potnia Labyrinthoio) and *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (Potnia Athana) at Knossos.[11] Hereby, it remains obscure whether we are dealing with separate goddesses or with one and the same Potnia having varying *epikleseis*. That the history of Mycenaean religion was even more complex is demonstrated by the fact that *e-ra* (Hera) occurs side by side with a goddess called *di-wi-ja* (Dia), the female version of *di-wo* (Zeus). The mention of an *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* (Anemo hiereia) in a text from Knossos informs us of a priestess in the service of wind deities in the Cretan pantheon.

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[8] Hallager 1985, esp. 31; *CMS* V Suppl. 1A no. 142.

[9] Warren 1988, 30.

[10] Dietrich 1968; Baumbach 1979; Gérard-Rousseau 1968; Hiller – Panagl 1986, 292–303; Chadwick 1988, esp. 193–198; Hägg 1997; Hiller 1997; Weilhartner 2005.

Unfortunately, the scribes in Mycenaean archives had no intention of explicitly explaining nature, functions, responsibilities, and interrelations of the mentioned divinities. Apart from some records of various, unspecific dedications in economic contexts, they only refer to the names of distinct deities. Therefore, the written evidence cannot be used for identifying specific gods and goddesses in the iconographic repertoire. We have no indication that, for example, *di-wo-nu-so* (Dionysos) in the Pylos texts was an orgiastic wine-god already in pre-Homeric Greece.[12] Although Paieon constitutes a medical deity in the Homeric Iliad,[13] there can be no certainty about this domain being already the responsibility of the Mycenaean *pa-wa-no*. While Enyalios served as an epithet and an alternative name of Ares in the Iliad, in the Linear B tablets from Knossos both *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* and *a-re* occur as separate gods[14] and, thus, reflect a different situation in the Mycenaean pantheon preceding the beliefs of the Homeric age. In the Pylian texts, Zeus is mentioned only once, whereas Poseidon seems to have had the most prominent position in the religious life within the Mycenaean state of Pylos, a fact probably reflected in the Homeric epics.[15] The great significance of the Linear B evidence for our question lies in that these records can be taken as authentic and reliable information for the existence of a manifold, complex, and more or less standardised pantheon with regional variations in Mycenaean Greece. Hence, there is no reason to doubt that a god called *po-se-da-o* has been sharply distinguished from other gods like *di-wo* or *ma-ri-ne-u*, whatever may have been the concrete domains and forms of imagined features that Mycenaean Greeks and Cretans attributed to these individual gods.

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[11] van Leuven 1979; Hiller 1981, 114–115 and 122–125; Boëlle 2001.

[12] Otto 1993–1994 gave a more optimistic answer.

[13] Hom., *Il.* 5.401–402 and 899–901.

[14] See Hiller – Panagl 1986, 295.

[15] Hom., *Od.* 3.54–61. *Cf.* Hooker 1976, 208; Hiller – Panagl 1986, 293–294; Mylonopoulos 2003, 16. 250. 333.

As regards pre-Mycenaean Crete, it appears—despite the obvious methodological problems—permissible to consider the textual information delivered by the Linear B tablets in order to at least get an impression of native Minoan divinities venerated during the Neopalatial period. Some indications are given by those theonyms, which occur exclusively on the Knossos tablets and therefore could well have been part of an earlier religious tradition.[16] This could apply, for example, to goddesses such as *pi-pi-tu-na* (Piptuna), *e-re-u-ti-ja* (Eleuthia), *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (Mistress of the Labyrinth), *e-ri-nu-we* (Erinys), *a-pe-ti-ra$_2$* (Bow Goddess) and *qe-ra-si-ja* (Therasia),[17] as well as to male deities such as *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (Enyalios), *pa-ja-wo-no* (Pai[a]on) and the often-mentioned god *pa-de*. Presumably, *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* (Diktaian Zeus) represents a traditional Cretan god subsequently associated with Zeus in a kind of *interpretatio mycenaea*.[18] A second way to reconstruct names of Creto-Minoan divinities is given by the Linear A texts.[19] Although earlier Cretan scripts have not yet been convincingly deciphered in their entirety, it may be fruitful to "read" Linear A syllabic signs in several cases by means of their homomorphous Linear B counterparts. By this way, we can detect in Linear A inscriptions engraved on two votive double-axes from Arkalochori and on a stone "ladle" from Kythera, the term *(I-)DA-MA-TE*, presumably the name of a goddess (Demeter?).[20] In the singular case of a votive inscription on the preserved lower part of a small clay figurine from Poros we can read *RI-QE-TI-A-SA-SA-RA-[*, probably revealing the often mentioned term *A-SA-SA-RA* as the name of a goddess.[21] Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro and Youchtas, read as *A-DI-KI-TE-TE-[* and *JA-DI-KI-TU* respectively, could well be related to the later Diktaian Zeus present as *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* in the Linear B texts from Knossos.[22] If these and further results hold true, Cretan Linear A inscriptions on votive artefacts from the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries inform us about the existence of several deities in a larger Minoan, *i.e.* pre-Mycenaean pantheon on Crete.[23]

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[16] Schoep 1994, 8; Hiller 1996c, 219.

[17] This divinity could be seen in the context of the eruption of the volcano of Thera, *cf.* Hiller 1978.

[18] Hiller – Panagl 1986, 294–295; Hägg 1997, 166.

[19] Furumark 1965, 97–98; Furumark 1988; Brice 1983; Schoep 1994.

[20] Pope 1956; Sakellarakis – Olivier 1994; Schoep, forthcoming.

[21] Dimopoulou – Olivier – Rethemiotakis 1993; Schoep, forthcoming.

[22] Schoep 1994, 8.

Without further details, let us summarize the written evidence for divinities in the Bronze Age Aegean: according to the Linear B tablets, the situation seems to be very clear, for the texts from the Late Mycenaean mainland Greece and from "Mycenaean" Crete demonstrate the existence of a lively polytheism consisting of a large variety of deities. Some of them obviously disappeared or changed their names in course of time. Several divinities shared a pan-Mycenaean character, while an even larger number of divinities are attested only in single regions. This pluralism of gods and goddesses is further reinforced by the existence of ritual calendars in Mycenaean Greece.[24]

What do we learn from the disparate pieces of evidence for a pre-Mycenaean pantheon on Minoan Crete? Irrespective of the concrete origin and character of the deities mentioned in Linear B texts and in earlier written sources from Crete, it seems highly doubtful that a single "Great Mother Goddess" has ever been venerated on the island. Although on Crete the quantity of goddesses' names is clearly dominant in comparison to gods, nothing suggests the existence of one singular, all-embracing goddess. While Potnia with her considerable number of *epikleseis* at Knossos—as well as in the Mycenaean Greek mainland—could be interpreted in different ways,[25] she can hardly be deduced from a single "Great Mother Goddess" on Neopalatial Crete. Thus, it seems reasonable to postulate an adoption and adaptation of Greek deities on 'Mycenaean' Crete during the fourteenth century BCE, but this new early Greek pantheon by no means came across a monotheistic Minoan system of belief. According to the epigraphic evidence, even during the Neopalatial period the Cretan divine *kosmos* definitely had a highly pluralistic character.

Sacred architecture

It appears remarkable that the majority of Minoan shrines preceding the post-palatial period do not feature a podium or any other prominent room installations for positioning a cult statue and, thus, enabling the definition of a specific deity as divine owner of the building.[26] Whereas the architectural forms of Minoan sanctuaries can clearly be typified,[27] their cult inventory, symbolic language, and other features appear rather unspecific and interchangeable and cannot, therefore, offer any hints for their attribution to individual deities.[28] In palatial Crete rituals devoted to a distinct divinity could be defined, at best, only by the architectural forms themselves, and it would be tempting to attribute specific types of ritual space to different deities. Recently, L. Hitchcock postulated, on the basis of some prominent architectural features, different cult foci and attributed principal deities to individual palaces: the bull or a male deity to Knossos, a water deity to Kato Zakros, and a nature deity to Mallia and Gournia.[29] However, such attributions appear not only highly doubtful, they are also creating more problems than giving answers to our questions. Although, for example, the Minoan so-called tripartite shrines have been interpreted as a "backdrop for the performance of sacred drama",[30] it remains open to question whether such a type of religious architecture existed at all.[31] Neither are we capable to concretise the differences in the religious meaning of "lustral basins", "pillar crypts", and other room types of ritual character, nor is it possible to attribute them to any specific deity. In the so-called throne-room of Knossos, situated beside one of the "lustral basins" in the palace, the wall painting programme suggests a connection with some kind of "mistress of animals", well known from a type of images on seals (*fig. 9*).[32] Nevertheless, a definition of the exact nature of this goddess remains problematic, and we still ignore whether every Minoan "lustral basin" was used for the worship of one and the same deity.

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[23] Less persuasive appears the hypothesis that the Egyptian "London Medical Papyrus" contains the mention of two healing gods of *kaftu* (Crete), *cf.* Haider 2001 with further bibliography.

[24] Trümpy 1989; Trümpy 1997; Younger 2007.

[25] *Cf.* Chadwick 1988, 195.

A tendency towards architectural uniformity became obvious in Cretan sanctuaries during the Late Minoan IIIA–B period. The prevailing shrine type features a bench for the deposition of clay idols, portable altars and other cult implements (*fig. 1*) and is situated close to public squares.[33] Nevertheless, there are still no distinctive architectural characteristics attributable to the ritual of specific deities. For example, although the painted floor of the Late Minoan IIIA1 shrine at Ayia Triada was decorated with marine motifs,[34] it remains questionable whether the deity worshiped there really had a pronounced maritime character, since marine motifs and seashells have been observed in a great number of sacred places throughout Minoan Crete.[35]

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[26] Marinatos – Hägg 1983.

[27] For shrine architecture in Neopalatial Crete, see esp. Gesell 1985, 19–33; Hitchcock 2000.

[28] Gesell 1985, esp. 36 and 66.

[29] Hitchcock 2000, 91–97.

[30] Hitchcock 2000, 109. For this architectural type, see now Alusík 2003, 56–118 with further bibliography.

[31] *Cf.* Platon 2003, esp. 349–362.

[32] See here n. 150.

Leaving aside the throne-rooms in Mycenaean residences with their strong sacred component, shrine architecture in the Late Mycenaean Greek mainland is characterised by humble forms and striking variations, which certainly cannot be connected with any distinct cult practices for individual deities.[36] Although Mycenaean sanctuaries mostly occur in form of groups of several shrines, they can be attributed neither to different deities nor to any specific single divinity on the basis of the archaeological evidence. The "cult centre" at Mycenae, for example, consists of at least four separate buildings having various architectural features such as platforms, benches, hearths, and columns.[37] Among the mural decoration of the "house with the fresco complex" (*fig. 2*) there is a fragmentary wall painting of a female figure holding a sword suggesting by means of the attribute a warrior goddess.[38] However, beside this fresco panel is located the representation of another goddess holding sheaves of corn in her raised hands and being accompanied by a griffin or a lion.[39] Does such a combination suggest that this cult room was devoted to (at least) two different goddesses or is the decorative programme presenting one and the same goddess under two different aspects? In the nearby "Tsountas house shrine" a painted stucco plaque showing a female deity holding a shield and a sword (*fig. 3*) has been discovered and could, therefore, attest to the veneration of a "warrior goddess" also in this shrine of the "cult centre" complex.[40] Attempts to attribute Mycenaean shrines to any distinct deity on the basis of architectural features and mural painting programmes remain rather ambiguous.

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[33] Gesell 1985, 41–56; Marinatos 1993, 222–225.

[34] Militello 1998, 148–154 pl. 11b–13; Militello 2006, 189–190 fig. 2.

[35] Schefold 1958; Mountjoy 1985; Boulotis 1987b; Müller 1997, esp. 24–25.

[36] For Mycenaean shrine architecture, see esp. Albers 1994; Whittaker 1996; Whittaker 1997.

[37] French 1981a; Moore – Taylour 1999, 1–31.

[38] Marinatos 1988; Rehak 1992; Morgan 2005.

[39] Marinatos 1988, 246; Rehak 1992, 50–57; Morgan 2005, 167–168.

[40] Rodenwaldt 1912; Rehak 1984; Hooker 1996.

It is an interesting phenomenon that, according to the Linear B texts from Knossos and Pylos, a variety of male and female divinities could have been venerated not only at one and the same site, but also in one and the same sanctuary and, apparently, even at the same occasions.[41] Apparently, rituals for a great number of gods and goddesses were conducted in the same cult area, and this may well explain the unspecific, "neutral" appearance of sacred architecture in the Mycenaean period. Moreover, narrative scenes depicting ceremonies, which almost exclusively take place in the open air or in front of architectural facades, suggest that the interior of the shrines has not probably been the essential focal point of ritual practices in Aegean religion.[42]

Anthropomorphic statues and statuettes

Minoan and Mycenaean sacred places have produced rich archaeological evidence in form of human figurines made of clay, bronze, and other materials. Substantial problems are, however, connected with the definition and identification of these images. Do they represent humans or gods? Should we recognise in them specific deities, individual votaries, or simply generic, symbolic cult celebrants? Although in several studies the most varied views have been expressed of how the diverse positions of the raised hands are to be interpreted,[43] our understanding of Aegean gestures is still at the beginning and strongly deserves a more fundamental comparative examination.[44]

Anthropomorphic figurines of painted terracotta found in Cretan peak sanctuaries, mainly of Middle Minoan date, present men wearing breech-cloths and sometimes armed with a dagger, as well as richly dressed women, whose ritual character is indicated solely by their raised arms.[45] The concrete occasions for their deposition in the sanctuaries remain obscure. On the contrary, clay votive limbs clearly demonstrate the wish for the benevolence of a deity, and exactly this is indicated by the figurines of ill votaries, like the seated female with an unmistakably swollen leg from the peak sanctuary of Traostalos.[46] For this and other reasons, we are tempted to suggest that most of the Middle Minoan terracotta figurines obviously were private dedications that symbolised the male or female cult celebrants themselves. If this holds true also for the succeeding periods, it appears noteworthy that during the entire Late Bronze Age Aegean, male terracotta statuettes are almost totally lacking.[47] Nevertheless, among the Minoan bronze figurines, male statuettes are by far more numerous than female ones, but they also bear hardly any indication for their interpretation as divine images.[48] Consequently, it appears reasonable to postulate that on Late Minoan I Crete the choice of the material for the production of votive figurines was made according to the gender of the depicted votary: apparently, bronze statuettes were dedicated in their majority by male votaries, and cheaper clay figurines were offered by females.

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[41] Dietrich 1968, 1002; Hiller 1981, esp. 107–113; Boulotis 1990.

[42] See, for example, Kilian 1992, 22; Whittaker 1997, 145–146; Wedde 2004b.

[43] Rutkowski 1991a, 106–111 and 139–140; Rutkowski 1991b; Jung 1998, 261–262.

[44] *Cf.* Rutkowski 1991b; Wedde 1999; Morris 2001; Morris – Peatfield 2004, esp. 45–54; McGovan 2006.

[45] See esp. Rutkowski 1991a, 37–47 and 54–57; Pilali-Papasteriou 1989.

[46] Rutkowski 1986, 86 fig. 109; Peatfield 1990, 122 fig. 10.

We have to concede that hitherto no clear definition was possible about which bronze or clay figurine represents a divinity and which one is a human votary. This point will require further comparative typological and diachronic studies, which certainly lie outside of this article's scope. Nevertheless, a certain impression arises that by far the majority of the Minoan bronze and terracotta figurines should be understood as praying humans in the moment of invoking or adoring a divinity. As previously mentioned, hairstyle, clothing, and adornment of these male and female statuettes as well as the sporadic rendering of boots are unspecific characteristics; only the hairstyle can be seen in some exceptional cases as an indication in the depiction of juveniles.[49] In a few instances the addition of a special headdress could well have served as a socially defining *insignium dignitatis* of a noble worshiper.[50] This does not mean, however, that images of deities are completely missing among Minoan figurines. A male bronze figurine from Katsambas, for example, holds his hands to the chest and wears a high, peaked *pilos* on its head, thus, it could well represent a god, at least in analogy to Near Eastern examples.[51] Precious statuettes from Neopalatial Crete, such as the faience so-called snake goddesses from the "temple repositories" at Knossos,[52] illuminate our idea of an image of a goddess. The tiara-like *polos*, the snakes, and the quadruped on the headgear indicate a special character, although the meaning of raised arms remains ambiguous and consequently, the two figurines could as well represent mortal humans (worshipers or priestesses).[53] In the Late Minoan I "temple" at Ayia Irini on Kea, fragments of at least thirty-two female figures of identical type showing similar arm poses have been discovered, thus, pointing to shared meanings and purposes in cult.[54] Their *a priori* interpretation as images of one or several goddesses has to be excluded.

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[47] *Cf.* Dietrich 1968, 999.

[48] Nilsson 1968, 400.

[49] See esp. Davis 1986; Koehl 1986; Doumas 1987; Doumas 2000; Chapin 1997–2000.

[50] See, for example, Marinatos 1967, 20.

[51] Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 55–57 no. 97 and 140–141 pl. 28; Rethemiotakis 1998, no. 185 and 161 pl. 55–56.

[52] Evans 1921, 500–505 fig. 359–362; Foster 1979, 71–77 pl. 7–11; Panagiotaki 1999, 96–100.

Distinctive attributes have been often recognized on a type of female terracotta figures known as "Goddesses with upraised hands" (*fig. 4*) dating to the advanced Mycenaean period of Crete.[55] These large-scale figures found in ritual contexts at numerous sites such as Gazi, Gournia, Kannia, Karphi, and Knossos mostly show on their headgear specific motifs such as poppy, birds, a pair of "horns of consecration", and solar discs; some of the figures are holding snakes in their hands. Nevertheless, there also occur several figures lacking any attributes. All the mentioned emblems in prominent display on these figures constitute traditional symbols of Minoan religion, having numerous correspondences in figurative arts of earlier periods. In many cases, several of these figures with different attributes have been found in one and the same sanctuary. It appears, therefore, tempting to understand them either as different individual deities worshiped in a single sanctuary (*synnaoi*) or as visual representations of various aspects of one and the same goddess.[56] However, we should be cautious whether symbols like the "horns of consecration" might have been exclusively confined to one distinct Minoan goddess alone. Furthermore, there seems to be no regular scheme of distribution and combination of the headgear emblems on the clay figures in the Late Minoan III shrines.[57] Additionally, the statuary type of the so-called Goddess with upraised hands constitute a very late phenomenon concentrated to Cretan bench-sanctuaries of Late Minoan IIIB–IIIC date (thirteenth-twelfth centuries BCE) and, thus, it can be hardly brought into conjunction with the first appearance of Greek deities as documented by the Linear B texts from Knossos. The terracotta figures and their distinguishing features rather mark the final stage of Cretan Bronze Age religious attitudes, and the symbolic motifs could have been already detached from their original meanings, thus, not being helpful for a possible reconstruction of the symbolic language of earlier Minoan periods. Moreover, the related sanctuaries testify more or less an identical cult apparatus and, therefore, indistinct religious rituals. In the light of the earlier written evidence of Linear A and B texts, however, it appears extremely improbable that in later periods the Cretan pantheon had been reduced to one single goddess. Whatever the concrete functions of the various emblems on the headgears of the goddesses' figures may have been, they probably reinforced the figures' sacred nature in a generic way, rather than individualising the identity of the images by means of attributes.

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[53] Matz 1958, 32–35; Marinatos – Hägg 1983, 195.

[54] Caskey 1982–1984; Caskey 1986, 27; Caskey 1996.

[55] Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1985, 47–50; Marinatos 1993, 225–229; Peatfield 1994, esp. 28–36; Whittaker 1997, 184–196; Rethemiotakis 1998.

[56] Peatfield 1994, 34–35.

[57] Marinatos 1993, 227.

In the Late Mycenaean Greek mainland, a phenomenon similar to the aforementioned from the sanctuary at Kea is attested for the "temple" of the Late Helladic IIIB "cult centre" at Mycenae: twenty-eight mostly large-scale human clay statues[58] showing a rather indistinct physical appearance were found there.[59] Because of their three different types of arm positions they possibly point to votive offerings and images of cult celebrants rather than to images of deities or cult statues.[60] As some kind of an attribute, a number of these figures (males as well as females) were holding a modelled axe-hammer, so far unparalleled, that A. Moore interpreted as a ritual tool of sacrifice and not as an individual feature of identity.[61] The ritual context could have possibly been further defined by seventeen large-scale figures of snakes. Is, however, this evidence really sufficient to confidently presuppose the existence and veneration of a Late Mycenaean snake goddess?

We may probably ascribe a protective and apotropaic meaning to the small terracotta figurines of the so-called *phi* and *psi* types, which are exclusively of female gender and ubiquitous in Mycenaean shrines, settlements, and tombs.[62] While an interpretation of these idols as divine images is widely circulated, they do appear as indistinct figurines with some standardised gestures and were massively manufactured. In only a few Mycenaean sanctuaries, the repertory of human and animal clay figurine types varies, thus, the worship of distinct deities can be concluded.[63] The recently excavated Late Helladic IIIA–B sanctuary at Ayios Konstantinos on the Methana Peninsula revealed features common to most Mycenaean shrines such as platforms, hearths, kylikes, rhyta, and clay figurines.[64] On the basis of rather unusual terracotta figurines showing horse-riders and bovids and in accordance with the later Greek traditions of the Troizenia region, the Mycenaean shrine has been tentatively attributed to Poseidon.[65] Although we lack any indications for the hypothesis that the Mycenaean god *po-se-da-o* had the same attributes and connotations as his successor, this interpretation may have appeared persuasive not only to a later Greek of the Classical period.

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[58] Moore 1988, 219–228; Moore – Taylour 1999, 87–102.

[59] It remains unclear whether the hairstyle defined some of the figures as youths, *cf.* Moore – Taylour 1999, 99.

[60] Moore 1988, esp. 221–224. Moore – Taylour 1999, 89–101 expressed a slightly more differentiated view. See further Whittaker 1997, 150; Morgan 2005, 164–166. *Cf.* in general Albers 1994, 135–142.

[61] Moore 1988, 223; Moore – Taylour 1999, 97 and 101–102 pl. 27a.

[62] See esp. French 1981b, 173–174; Kilian 1992, 14–15 and 21; Hägg 1996, 608 with further bibliography; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, esp. 64–102 and 308–310.

Nowadays, Aegean figurines are rather classified as votive offerings. If this assumption holds true, it remains noteworthy that in the advanced Late Bronze Age—with the exception of the sanctuaries at Ayios Konstantinos and Phylakopi[66]—there exist almost no male terracotta statuettes,[67] and even the so-called Lord of Asine should be rather regarded a "Lady".[68] This highly suggests that clay figurines neither inform us about the gender of the votary nor about the frequency of female and male divinities within the Mycenaean pantheon.

Other finds related to ritual practices

The character of finds' assemblages and a possible definition of ritual practices at distinct cult places could deliver some hints towards their closer attribution to specific Aegean deities. For example, comparative studies of Minoan peak sanctuaries enable the identification of individual variability in votive offerings and dedicatory practices in different cult places.[69] The hypothesis was expressed that the symbolism of

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[63] Whittaker 1997, 153–154.

[64] Konsolaki 1991, 71–74; Whittaker 1997, 154 and 164–165; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, 61–94.

[65] Konsolaki 1999, 427–433; Konsolaki 2003, 376–378 fig. 5–12; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, esp. 63–64.

[66] French 1985, 223–230.

[67] *Cf.* Dietrich 1968, 999.

[68] Laviosa 1968; D'Agata 1996.

[69] *Cf.* esp. Peatfield 1990, 120–123; Jones 1999, 5–21 and 34–40; Kyriakidis 2005a.

Middle Minoan votive offerings points to the worship of a Zeus-like deity, his wife, and further deities at peak sanctuaries.[70] On the basis of bronze blades, ritual double-axes, and swords of precious metals found in the cave sanctuary at Arkalochori, this cult place was associated with a warrior deity.[71] Superficially, such attributions sound quite conclusive. Problems arise, however, when it comes to the establishment of basic distinctions in the ritual inventory, which would go beyond the simple identification of varying priorities in ritual functions. It is also remarkable that well-known cult symbols, such as the double-axes or the "horns of consecration" only occur sporadically in these natural cult places. Admittedly, in Minoan sanctuaries the repertory of finds varies, but not to the extent that would allow the secure attribution of specific cult places to different deities. Variations in the repertory of ritual objects and votive gifts may equally suggest differences in the social status, gender, or needs of the cult celebrants, in the functions of sacred places, or in the divinities venerated at the respective cult place. Thus, we can tentatively define the spectrum of characteristics of cult *paraphernalia*, but we know next to nothing about the deities themselves worshiped in Minoan peak sanctuaries and sacred caves.

The situation is even more complicated when it comes to Neopalatial Crete with its innumerable shrines in palaces, "villas", and other types of ritual places. Despite the fact that an overall picture of more or less established requisites of cult can be drawn, predominance or absence of a specific type of finds do not deliver any hint towards the definition of cult-patterns of a distinct character.[72] Sacred symbols seem to be polyvalent and interchangeable in every respect. Double-horns, for example, occur as free-standing monumental specimens near the west facade of the palace at Knossos, in the upper sanctuary of the "temple tomb", painted on the walls of a "lustral basin" in the palace of Kato Zakros, and as a crowning element of different architectural facades in depictions of palatial buildings.[73] Thus, the symbolic meaning of "horns of consecration" can hardly go beyond that of a general emblem indicating religious and palatial spheres, and this probably also applies to most other Aegean emblems, as will be demonstrated below. In respect to Late Minoan III shrines, a rather standardised repertory of ritual requisites, such as "snake tubes", small clay birds, palettes, terracotta altars, and miniature vessels has been found in many archaeological contexts with ritual connotations.[74] As has been already stated for the goddesses' figures, the presence of "horns of consecration", miniature double-axes, and additional artefacts does appear rather arbitrary. The occurrence of motifs like these does not allow any detailed differentiation between distinctly characterised deities; furthermore, the related cult apparatus even seems to be more homogeneous than in the preceding periods.

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[70] Watrous 1995, 398–400.

[71] See, for example, Rutkowski 1986, 57–59 and 226–227; Moss 2005, 117–118.

[72] *Cf.* Fernandez 1985; Gesell 1985, 33–36.

[73] See esp. D'Agata 1992.

In the sanctuaries of the Mycenaean Greek mainland, in addition to human and animal figurines, there also occur clay vessels in ritual shapes, such as miniature vases and kylikes, as well as dedications in precious materials.[75] In a room of the Mycenaean sanctuary on the Methana peninsula a plastered stone plaque was discovered showing traces of an eight-shaped shield and a female figure,[76] similar to the image on the stucco plaque from the "Tsountas house shrine" at Mycenae (*fig. 3*).[77] Therefore, it does appear tempting to postulate the worship of the same warrior goddess in both shrines. Although such similarities in the symbolic repertory of Late Mycenaean sanctuary contexts can occasionally occur, the indications given by the cult apparatus do not suffice for the definition of clear criteria in order to justify more detailed attributions of function and content to the various shrines of Late Bronze Age Greece.

Iconography

In the scholarly context of Aegean archaeology, the issue is not so much whether a pictorial scene is sacred *or* secular, but rather the concrete definition of the essentially sacred or ceremonial character of such images. The overwhelmingly religious iconography of the Aegean Bronze Age apparently consists for the most part of ritual scenes between humans, often under the inclusion of a divine figure. Thus, the borderline between the realm of humans and that of deities seems to have been fluid, and that makes the identification of divinities a difficult task. How can we decide, for example, in the case of a seal image from Knossos (*fig. 5*), which shows an isolated woman holding a double-axe and a festive robe in front of an altar,[78] whether this is a goddess, a priestess, or a female votary preparing a ritual? Nevertheless, several fruitful attempts to distinguish between recurring figurative motifs as probably representing deities have been made.[79] It appears reasonable to postulate that gestures among other characteristics served to distinguish cult celebrants from deities by defining the function of each figure in a given context.[80] Sometimes, however, ritual gestures can have various meanings,[81] which of course causes a certain degree of confusion, especially in the interpretation of bronze and terracotta figurines, as has been already mentioned above. While in multi-figurative scenes, at least the opportunity to establish a certain hierarchy among the figures is given,[82] there is no guarantee that the central figure or the most outstanding female of a narrative scene always has to be of divine nature. Thus, only in comparatively few instances can we probably define a divinity by its concrete visual rendering.

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[74] Gesell 1985, 33–36; Marinatos 1993, 122–225.

[75] Kilian 1992; Albers 1994, 135–149; Whittaker 1997, 145–149.

[76] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, esp. 72 and 94 fig. 14a–b.

[77] See here n. 40.

Nevertheless, some divinities can indeed be distinguished in Aegean Bronze Age iconography: the combination of a female figure with lions, griffins, snakes, birds, dolphins, lilies, and other plants points to the existence of some kind of mistress of animals, possibly standing in connection with nature and fertility. An action such as holding or feeding animals (*fig. 6*), sometimes positioned in antithetic order (*fig. 7*), is an important indicator.[83] Prominent examples are shown on impressions of the so-called Mother-of-the-mountain-ring (*fig. 8*) depicting a goddess on a mountain peak, stretching forward a staff, accompanied by antithetical lions, and venerated by a male figure.[84] Another group of seals shows a goddess carrying a so-called snake frame flanked by griffins or lions (*fig. 9–10*).[85] Only the general composition and the distinct association with humans, beasts or requisites such as a staff or a "snake frame" can identify this female figure as divine, whereas the outfit is simply that of an unspecific woman in a festive robe. However, there is no way of deciding whether we have to subdivide this *potnia theron* into different deities, and her concrete domains as well as her names or *epikleseis* have to remain obscure. A warrior goddess can be possibly inferred from several images showing a female figure carrying various weapons such as an eight-shaped shield or a sword. This specific figure is known both in the Minoan and the Mycenaean iconography (*fig. 3 and 11*).[86]

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[78] *CMS* II 3 no. 8.

[79] Niemeier 1989; Wedde 1992.

[80] *Cf.*, for example, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, esp. 139.

[81] Niemeier 1989, 164–167; Niemeier 1990, 166; Wedde 1992, esp. 187–188; Marinatos 1993, 169; Morris 2001, 249.

[82] Niemeier 1989; Wedde 1992.

[83] Nilsson 1968, 396–399; Branigan 1969; Marinatos 1993, 147–166; Barclay 2001, 373–386.

[84] *CMS* II 8.1 no. 256.

[85] See esp. Rutkowski 1981, 100–105; Hägg – Lindau 1984.

Although the iconographic evidence for male deities is by far scarcer than for female divinities, they indisputably existed in the Minoan as well as in the Mycenaean world.[87] A master of animals shown with lions, dogs, bulls, or griffins in heraldic scheme can be identified (*fig. 12–13*). Sometimes, however, he is depicted armed, thus, his iconography can be confused with a possible warrior god who bears weapons and a peaked cap and is accompanied by a lion (*fig. 14*).[88] While the youthful consort or son of a female deity is an often-mentioned stereotype in studies of Aegean religion, such figure can be iconographically defined only as subordinate male in front of a goddess (*fig. 15*). However, a scene like that can equally be identified as a mother goddess and her son, a *sacra conversazione*, or even a sacred marriage.[89]

Further attempts to distinguish between individual goddesses and gods in Aegean iconography are highly hypothetical despite the fact that such tentative efforts are not only for methodological reasons permissible, even necessary.[90] Apparently, protective beasts such as griffins, winged goats, and lions were not confined to individual divinities. Griffins as well as the so-called Minoan genius (*Ta-wrt* demon) occur, for example, in a variety of images with female as well as with male figures (*fig. 9, 13, 21, 25*) and can hardly be attributed exclusively to a single deity.[91] In the case of the monkey (*fig. 25*), this question has to remain open as well.[92]

Some narrative scenes of religious character like those on a Minoan signet ring from Vapheio[93] (*fig. 16*) and the master impression from

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[86] Nilsson 1968, 398; Rehak 1984, 1999; Warren 2000; Laffineur 2001, 390.

[87] *Cf.* Niemeier 1989, esp. 183–184; Marinatos 1993, 166: "Male gods are neither rare nor unimportant".

[88] Nilsson 1968, 400–401 and 405–406; Marinatos 1993, 167–171; Müller 2000; Barclay 2001.

[89] Nilsson 1968, 400–404; Marinatos 1993, 171–174.

[90] See esp. Furumark 1988 and Moss 2005.

[91] Dessenne 1957; Delplace 1967; Weingarten 1991. For a male figure accompanied by a "Minoan genius", see, for example, *CMS* V no. 201.

[92] See esp. Marinatos 1987.

[93] *CMS* I no. 219.

Chania[94] (*fig. 17*) include small motifs such as an eye, an ear, a leg, a *boukranion*, a butterfly, a branch, astral motifs, or a so-called sacral knot floating in the background and surrounding prominent figures, which most probably should be interpreted as gods or goddesses.[95] Although such complementary motifs constitute an appropriate visual means for a closer definition of different divinities, it is simply impossible to define their exact meaning and concrete function.[96] The selection and combination of these signs, but also the gender of the accompanied deity can vary, and therefore they rather form a characteristic way of creating a visual focus on a depicted divinity, without being a specific explanatory attribute. The same could apply to the so-called commanding gesture expressed by figures with or without a staff or a spear in their outstretched arm (*fig. 8, 14, 17, 18, 22*).[97] This gesture possibly denotes a great number of divine both male and female figures without being exclusively connected with a single deity, such as the so-called young god with the staff.[98] Although hybrid, half-anthropomorphic beings such as the known combination of a woman and a bird do occur on some seals, we should rather be cautious in identifying them as deities; seal imagery has its own artistic rules, and only a few such figures could represent standardised forms of distinct demons and other mythological beings.[99]

Hence, only in few cases does the Aegean vocabulary of iconographic formulae allow a relatively clear definition and delimitation of a deity, whereas in most instances we have to deal with generic anthropomorphic figures. The Minoan gold-ring from Isopata (*fig. 19*) depicting five female figures dressed in almost identical robes is a good example of this ambiguity.[100] Nevertheless, a differentiation was achieved by means of gestures, by the higher position of two figures, and by the much smaller scale of one "flowing" figure. For these reasons, the figure in the centre can be identified as a goddess, although there is no consensus among scholars about how many divine figures are shown on this ring.[101] One essential problem in all attempts to define distinct divinities is the fact that more than one deity is represented in one image only very sporadically, so that for the Minoan artists and beholders there was actually no real necessity for a visual differentiation of deities. What makes the Minoan religion appear rather female-centric is not just the frequent occurrence of representations of goddesses, but moreover the fact that worshippers and / or priests are predominantly female.[102] For example, on a signet ring from Kalapodi (*fig. 20*) we can identify one or even both figures in the right part of the image as divine, because of the overall structure of the composition and the "flowing object" near the upper border.[103] Nevertheless, all four figures correspond in their physical appearance to humans, and an interpretation of their gestures remains iconographically ambivalent.

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[94] See here n. 8.

[95] See esp. Pini 1983; Niemeier 1987, 91; Niemeier 1989, 177–178; Wedde 1992, 189 and 193–197; Pulsinger 1998; Morris – Peatfield 2004, 42–45.

[96] Recently, Kyriakidis 2005b interpreted them as signs of the zodiac.

[97] For this type of gesture, see esp. Niemeier 1987, 79–89 and Niemeier 1989, 169–170.

[98] *Cf.* Marinatos 1993, 171–174.

[99] See esp. Weingarten 1983 and Marinatos 1993, 156.

[100] *CMS* II 3 no. 51.

[101] *Cf.* esp. Rehak 2000 and Cain 2001.

Where was the borderline between the image of a goddess and the image of a mortal priestess conducting some ritual performance? Was there a real distinct separation between divine and human figures in ritual as well as in iconography? It is perhaps a peculiarity of Aegean Bronze Age iconography that neither Minoan nor Mycenaean deities were represented living in their own supernatural, mythological sphere, separated from the human world and situated on some kind of mount Olympos. Although the cosmological concept of a paradise landscape in form of a papyrus thicket was brought to Crete from Egypt,[104] as a Minoan cylinder seal from Ayia Pelayia demonstrates (*fig. 21*),[105] Aegean deities were mainly acting inside or at least very close to the world of humans.[106] The physical presence of gods and goddesses among priests and human votaries was, thus, a very important and highly popular feature, fitting well the notion of a mortal god such as the later Zeus Kretagenes.[107] Further difficulties arise from the fact that Aegean iconography often combines human rituals with the physical presence of divine beings. We even get the impression that the majority of religious scenes present a hybrid mixture of a divinity and human worshipper(s) as reflecting real acts of invocation, veneration, and offering, but by no means scenes that could be characterised as mythological.[108]

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[102] Marinatos 1993, esp. 160.

[103] *CMS* V Suppl. 3 no. 68.

[104] Hiller 1996a, 86–90; Hiller 1996b; Warren 2007.

[105] Evans 1935, 497 fig. 436; Gill 1961; Marinatos 1993, 154 fig. 130.

[106] Several scenes with mythological beings such as griffins and *Ta-wrt* demons are, however, exceptions. See Hägg 1986, esp. 56.

[107] Postlethwaite 1999; Vikela 2000, esp. 219–220.

[108] See Marinatos 1993, esp. 160–162.

An example, which illuminates the aforementioned problems and limitations of an iconographic approach is a most prominent mural painting from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera (*fig. 25*) showing a richly dressed woman, undoubtedly a goddess, flanked by a griffin and a monkey, all of them situated on a wooden podium.[109] Although every iconographic element has good parallels in other Minoan religious scenes, this specific mural painting stands out not only due to its excellent state of preservation, but also because of the complexity of its symbolic language: floral and animal motifs on dress and jewellery of the goddess, symbolic beings as companions, and a clearly defined ritual context of girls collecting crocus blossoms to be offered to the goddess. This could well be an appropriate starting point for further studies of iconic symbolism and divine attributes.[110] It remains, however, questionable whether all these emblems and symbols can be understood as real attributes designating a specific deity that was *always* linked to griffins, monkeys, crocuses, and marshy landscapes. A great number of Minoan images on seals exist that show a female figure dressed in a flounced skirt, sitting on a wooden podium and interacting with a woman, a monkey, or other beings. Can all these enthroned female deities with or without attributes and in various iconographic contexts be understood as one and the same goddess? Or was this goddess even defined by the enthroned motif alone (*fig. 23*), thus, largely reducing the spectrum of Minoan female deities? Analogies like these could well lead to the conclusion that there was one central Minoan goddess and a religious system coming very close to monotheism.

Innumerable irregularities and thought provoking uncertainties like these mentioned above are the main reasons for our difficulties in defining a standardised pantheon in Aegean Bronze Age iconography. This is also the reason why the impression of an Aegean pantheon without attributes can easily arise.

Summary of the evidence

Beyond any doubt, the literary sources clearly bear witness to the polytheistic character of the Aegean Bronze Age religious systems and to the existence of a manifold pantheon consisting of male and female divinities at least since the fourteenth century BCE. The textual evidence also delivers strong indications that this was already the case on Neopalatial Crete and most probably also in earlier periods. Attempts to go deeper into the definition of a more differentiated character of Minoan and Mycenaean deities are, nevertheless, problematic, for the written sources do not find any clear confirmation in the architectural or iconographic testimonies. In several periods, the typological variety of ritual places and sacred architectural forms was considerable, but despite this well known variety sacred places do not reveal any clear features to support their attribution to different deities either on Minoan Crete or in Mycenaean Greece. The same problems of interpretation apply to figurines and figures from Aegean sanctuaries and other contexts as well, which may be understood in their majority as representations of votaries. Especially the evidence of Late Minoan and Mycenaean clay figurines elucidates that the goddess' image was treated by artists as an iconic stereotype of sanctity and, therefore, does not allow any further conclusions about any individual deity.[111] Ritual or votive objects are of primary importance in the process of identifying Minoan cult places, but they are too ambiguous to be used as indicators in a classification of fixed patterns and particular cult practices intended for different deities.

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[109] Doumas 1992, 158–167 fig. 122–130; Vlachopoulos 2003.

[110] See, for example, Marinatos 1985, 222–230; Chapin 2001; Ferrence – Bendersky 2004.

In Aegean narrative images, the definition of a deity was mainly achieved by its gesture and its iconographical context, *i.e.* its position in the overall compositional scheme, sometimes in a seated posture, with animals of powerful or mythical character as attendants, its relation to surrounding subordinate figures, and by a few other details such as the conjunction with architectural and natural elements. And yet, it must be stressed that most of these criteria are not as strictly applicable as expected, and therefore a lot of insecurities and open questions in recognizing divine figures still remain. There can also hardly be detected any typological correlations between the three-dimensional figures or figurines and the figures in two-dimensional images. This can sometimes be the case of gestures, and the Minoan and Mycenaean gesture repertoire definitely deserves a much more detailed analysis. Even more substantial are the uncertainties in respect to a clear differentiation between various deities in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography. One of the main difficulties lies in the definition of diagnostic and variable features of divine figures. After more than one century of research, we must concede that what appears to be a distinctive attribute of an individual deity is in most cases rather a symbolic sign of a more general religious character. It is obvious that artists laid remarkably little weight on the distinction of individual divinities; this applies both to Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, and it was most probably not confined to iconography alone.

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[111] For the insignificant gender definition of several Mycenaean terracotta figures, see esp. Moore 1988, 222–224 and Moore – Taylour 1999, 96–97.

The brief discussion of the existing sources regarding Aegean Bronze Age deities revealed an obvious discrepancy between the textual evidence pointing to an extensive pantheon of male and female deities and an indecipherable and rather small number of—mainly female—deities in the iconographic repertory. Although the different media of text and image are moving on different levels, they indisputably form part of one and the same religious system and, thus, have to be reconciled. Even if the theonym *po-ti-ni-ja* with its many *epikleseis* had designated one and the same goddess under various aspects, this would not be appropriate to ascribe the Minoan—as well as the Mycenaean—pantheon the character of a monotheistic religion. Therefore the problem is not so much whether a single goddess was venerated under different aspects—comparable to the Virgin Mary having varying epithets in Christian Church.[112] The problem is the discrepancy between one central female deity depicted almost invariably, on the one side, and the existence of sporadically occurring further divinities, as evidenced by iconography and especially by the textual evidence, on the other side. If we lacked the information given by the Linear B texts, nothing would suggest the existence of a rich pantheon in Mycenaean Greece and on Crete since at least the fourteenth century BCE.[113] Based only on the iconographic evidence, we would have had good reasons to postulate a small Mycenaean pantheon consisting exclusively of female deities, and perhaps dominated by a single "Great Mycenaean goddess". The isolated evidence of the "Goddesses with upraised hands" (*fig. 4*) would certainly have suggested the complete absence of any male divinities in Late Minoan III Crete, which in fact is definitely *not* the case. This clearly demonstrates that any mistakes and confusions in deliberating Mycenaean religion are caused by a generic iconography and surely not by the written sources, and this most probably applies also to our comprehension of earlier Minoan images. Whatever the imperfections in our approaches to Aegean Bronze Age imagery really are, it is obvious that there existed no canonical, established iconography for the visual distinction among different deities. In all likelihood, Aegean images functioned in a way quite different to what we are used to expect in the light of other Eastern Mediterranean civilizations as well as of Classical antiquity.

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[112] For this comparison, see Peatfield 1994, 34.

[113] *Cf.* Whittaker 1997, 161.

Cult images in the Aegean Bronze Age?

An essential point in understanding Minoan and Mycenaean notions of divine figures is the existence of cult images. A cult image primarily means the visualisation of the sacred for human worshippers.[114] It is a deplorable fact that, hitherto, there cannot be established any clear criteria for the definition and identification of cult statues in the archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age.[115] The fact that Minoans as well as Mycenaeans imagined their divinities as humans is evidenced by iconography as well as by written records. Thus, we seem to know very well what we should look for: not so much for baetyls, pillars, and other abstract symbols such as the double-axe, but, moreover, for images of female and male anthropomorphic figures. How did cult images in the Aegean Bronze Age look like? Was there a real necessity for anthropomorphic cult statues? And is it possible that they had been imitated or reproduced in minor arts?

Since figures frontally depicted are almost completely missing from Aegean two-dimensional images,[116] the possibility of two-dimensional cult images painted on shrine-walls such as in the "house with the fresco complex" at Mycenae (*fig. 2*) should be excluded.[117] Hitherto, interpretations of anthropomorphic figures or figurines as focal points of Aegean worshiping practices were mainly based on the splendid appearance of some prestigious, more or less singular artefacts and on the reconstruction of monumental statues out of single fragments of debatable character. What is normally called a cult image, like, for example, the aforementioned snake goddesses from Knossos[118] or the so-called "Kouros from

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[114] For a critical reassessment of the ancient notion of the term "cult image", see Gladigow 1985–1986 and Donohue 1997.

[115] See esp. the discussion in Marinatos – Hägg 1983; Hägg 1986, esp. 43–45; Whittaker 1997, 149–152.

[116] *Cf.* esp. Morgan 1995.

[117] See here n. 38.

[118] See here n. 52.

Palaikastro",[119] are in my opinion dedications or valuable objects of identity on the palatial level of religion, society, or politics, and not focal point of rituals. As N. Marinatos has already remarked, beyond the faience figurines from the "temple repositories" at Knossos there can scarcely be found any evidence for the existence of a consistent "Snake Goddess" in the Minoan iconographic tradition.[120] Although the well-preserved chryselephantine, *ca.* 0.5 m high male statuette from Palaikastro unearthed in a "town shrine" has been interpreted as juvenile Diktaian Zeus on the basis of symbolist ideas and analogies drawn from Egypt and later Greek literary sources,[121] neither its definition as a god nor its interpretation as a cult image are that self-evident.[122] The arms raised to the chest correspond to images of both gods and votaries, so that an interpretation of the "Kouros" as an unspecific worshipper should at least be considered.

Assemblages of large-scale clay statues are rather restricted to the Late Minoan I "temple" at Ayia Irini on Kea and to the Late Helladic IIIB "cult centre" at Mycenae. In both cases an interpretation of the figurines as divine images is rather doubtful. The number of identical types is substantial and demonstrates that, if Aegean cult images existed at all, they would rather not have been exclusively defined by their large size. As for the terracotta figures of "Goddesses with upraised hands" (*fig. 4*) found in Cretan shrines of Late Minoan IIIB–IIIC date, it is remarkable that they could occur in large numbers in one and the same cult-room: five examples were found in the shrine of Gazi and at least eight large figures in the sanctuary complex of Kannia.[123] This makes their interpretation as cult images highly improbable, although we cannot completely rule out that a multiplicity of cult statues served the reinforcement of the power of one and the same deity. In this case, however, the question arises why the statues differ in the decorative elements of their headgear. We should rather avoid premature interpretations of the "Goddesses with upraised hands" as cult images, since at least some of them were produced and dedicated along with further ritual objects as coherent sets.[124]

Large-scale feet of terracotta figures have been often brought forward as an argument for the existence of acrolithic, *xoanon*-like statues on Minoan Crete whose monumental human bodies were reconstructed as of organic and hence vanished materials such as wood and textile cloths.[125] Clay feet have been found in pairs, like the prominent examples from Anemospilia and Mallia, but more often as a single object, wherefore an interpretation as votive limbs has also to be taken into serious consideration.[126] At any rate, we have to exclude that *xoana* constituted an essential component of Minoan religious practices. Furthermore, we could argue for the existence of Minoan life-sized statues based on the terracotta cast of a human fist from Phaistos to be executed in bronze,[127] a large-scale inlayed crystal eye from Knossos,[128] and further similar, but isolated finds; in all these cases, a ritual context remains to be proven. The part of a large-scale terracotta face from the peak sanctuary of Petsophas could derive from a life-sized (male?) figure or rather from a vessel in the shape of a head.[129] Thus, the archaeological evidence for monumental anthropomorphic statues in Minoan cult places remains deliberately scarce; for the vast majority of examples, an interpretation as cult images appears highly speculative.

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[119] Musgrave 1992; MacGillivray – Driessen – Sackett 2000.

[120] Marinatos 1993, 148; Trcková-Flamee 2003; Svoboda 2003.

[121] MacGillivray – Sackett 2000.

[122] *Cf.* Poursat 2001, esp. 709 and Lapatin 2002.

[123] See esp. Gesell 1985, 42–46 with further references.

[124] Gesell 1985, 44 and 71; Peatfield 1994, 31; Marinatos 1993, 227–228.

In the "shrine of the idols" at Mycenae one of the terracotta figures with upraised arms was not only embedded in a platform, but was also standing behind an offering table.[130] Such a ritual ensemble could be interpreted as a divine figure receiving an offering.[131] In the sanctuary at Ayios Konstantinos one of the bull-jumper figurines has been placed on an upper platform, whereas an indistinct female *psi*-type figurine stood on a lower one. Are we really allowed to interpret this ensemble as an indication for the veneration of a master of the bulls (Poseidon) and a subordinate female deity?[132]

However, some indirect evidence for the existence of cult images given by Aegean narrative scenes should be considered as well. A painted bowl from the palace of Phaistos presents a coherent scene consisting of three figures in the schematic style of the Protopalatial period (*fig. 26*).[133] Whereas both lateral female figures seem to conduct some dance-like movements, with one arm sunken the other raised, the figure in the centre is rendered armless and with its conical body dressed in a red garment, thus, giving the impression of an inanimate statue.[134] If this image were reflecting a real ritual, it would be tempting to recognise an adoration scene with two worshipers in front of a life-size cult statue. On one of the long sides of the painted sarcophagus from Late Minoan IIIA Ayia Triada, three male figures are approaching an armless male who stands in front of an architectural facade.[135] This outdoor scene leaves the question open whether the taller figure might be regarded as a god, a *xoanon*, a priest, or the deceased in front of his tomb. A possible indication for the depiction of an *agalma* could be the presence of a socle-like basis: the so-called sacred-conversation-ring from Poros (*fig. 22*) depicts a multi-figurative ritual scene including a male figure with an outstretched arm in its centre.[136] As has already been mentioned above, such an arm pose can be convincingly interpreted as a commanding gesture of male and female deities.[137] Significant for our question is the socle on which this god is standing, unless this is a platform reinforcing the sacred nature of the figure, or even a wheeled vehicle indicating the immediate arrival of the god.[138]

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[125] Sakellarakis – Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 530–539.

[126] *Cf.* the discussion in Hägg – Marinatos 1981, 136 and Marinatos – Hägg 1983, 190–193.

[127] Laviosa 1967–1968; Levi 1976, 197 fig. 297 pl. 247 g.

[128] Hood 2001.

[129] Myres 1902–1903, 375–376 pl. 12, 34; Rutkowski 1991a, 80 pl. XXII.2–3; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 112.

[130] Taylour 1970, 273 fig. 2; Moore – Taylour 1999, 98 and 100 pl. 9b fig. 6; Morgan 2005, 168.

[131] *Cf.* Moore 1988, 223–224 fig. 4 pl. 13a.

[132] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2002, 34–35 fig. 13; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, esp. 63–64; Whittaker 1997, 164–165.

The existence of portable cult statues is suggested by the term *te-o-po-ri-ja* (*theophoria*) in Linear B texts from Knossos[139] and small-scale figurines made of terracotta or of painted ivory that are carried in procession scenes in Mycenaean wall paintings.[140] It has to remain open, though, whether such figurines are representing cult images or should rather be seen as arbitrary images of one or several divinities. We should also not exclude that, instead of an *agalma pompikon*, the priest(ess) him/herself could have been carried around during the ceremonies of *theophoria*.[141] In the case of the symbolic gift of robes attested in the

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[133] Levi 1976, 96 pl. LXVIIa.
[134] *Cf.*, for example, Marinatos 1993, 149–150 fig. 120.
[135] Long 1974, 36–37 fig. 17. 37. 52. 86. 87; Militello 1998, 155–159 pl. 14a.
[136] Dimopoulou – Rethemiotakis 2000, esp. 45–47 fig. 6.
[137] See here n. 97.
[138] *Cf.*, for example, the image on a later Greek pithos: Marinatos 1993, 165 fig. 153.
[139] See esp. Hiller 1984.
[140] Moore – Taylour 1999, 101; Blakolmer 2007a, 42 with further bibliography.
[141] *Cf.* Hägg 1986, esp. 46–47 and Marinatos 1993, 155 and 162.

Aegean Bronze Age,[142] the images suggest an interpretation as ritual dresses for humans and not for cult images.[143]

Although, there are some positive hints towards the existence of anthropomorphic cult images,[144] we rather get the impression that this was in general not the case either on Minoan Crete or in Mycenaean Greece.[145] There are no proofs that cult images representing specific deities in a distinct, individualised form played an essential role in the rituals of the Bronze Age Aegean. Whereas, as regards sculpture in the round, there often occur small-scale images of deities, a distinct group of more exclusive cult images cannot be convincingly defined. As N. Marinatos and R. Hägg have pointed out, the lack of any standardised types of official cult statues could have been one reason for the great variability of images of deities in the Minoan iconography.[146] We should not exclude, however, the possibility that in the Late Mycenaean Greek mainland indistinct clay figurines could have fulfilled some functions of cult images.

Out of this rather negative evidence an important question arises: did Minoan and Mycenaean rituals really require a central sacred image as visual expression of an individual deity? The lack of cult images in the Aegean Bronze Age, as well as the emphasis on representations of ritual practices and cult celebrants in narrative scenes suggest that the religious focus of attention was not so much the image of the venerated deity itself, but rather the perpetuation of the rituals.[147] Although it does not clearly speak against the existence of cult images in general, it is noteworthy that most statues and statuettes demonstrate by their gestures an active involvement in ritual actions of worship or invocation. The idea of epiphany in the context of performative rites, which should provoke the imaginary appearance of a deity,[148] possibly in form of an impersonating priestess ("enacted epiphany"), is a traditional one.[149] Experiencing the divine in this or a similar way could have been more essential for the religious system of Minoan Crete than fixed statuary representations of any concrete divinities. The most persuasive argument in favour of the primary role of ritual performances in Minoan cult constitute the obvious interrelations between seal images showing a goddess with "snake frame" flanked by griffins (*fig. 9*) and the arrangement of the so-called throne-room in the palace of Knossos.[150] Thus, the demand for a visualisation of the sacred could have been fulfilled not so much by static cult images, but rather by periodically repeated ritual events, which were concretised and explained by themselves, namely without the requirement of any concrete image of the involved deities. This could have been the case in Mycenaean Greece as well,[151] even if epiphany rituals similar to the Minoan ones were most probably lacking there.[152]

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[142] *Cf.* Boulotis 1979; Boulotis 1987a; Korres 1981.

[143] See esp. Peterson Murray 2004.

[144] *Cf.*, for example, Rutkowski 1973, esp. 291–294; Rutkowski 1981, 110–121; Hiller 1983; Renfrew 1985, 432–433; Jung 1995.

[145] See Marinatos – Hägg 1983, esp. 196; Niemeier 1986, esp. 76; Whittaker 1997, esp. 152.

[146] Marinatos – Hägg 1983, esp. 196.

[147] *Cf.* Hägg 1986, 41–62 and Whittaker 1997, 151.

[148] See esp. Nilsson 1968, 330–388; Matz 1958; Furumark 1965; Hägg 1986; Warren 1988; Niemeier 1989, 173–174; Wedde 1992, 185–189 and 198–201; Morgan 2005, 168.

[149] For the hypothesis of the replacement of a goddess by a priestess, see Hägg 1986, 56–59. Contra: Wedde 1992, 198–201.

Thus, in spite of all the manifold utilisation of images and their iconographic complexity, the Aegean Bronze Age civilisations do not seem to have had a pronounced image-orientated ritual and belief. The performative aspects of the religious ceremonies constituted the essential part of the ritual activity. Since cult images tend to visualise the essence of divine beings, it appears reasonable to ascribe both to Minoans and Mycenaeans a belief in supernatural powers of a rather non-personal character. This model could explain the Minoan visual codes that appear so different from those of other contemporary and later civilisations. However, the literary evidence warns us against an all too abstract conception of the Minoan and Mycenaean religions.

Images of specific deities?

As it has been shown, the existence of polytheistic religious systems in the Bronze Age Aegean appears to be a fact beyond the shadow of a doubt, while the attitude towards sacred images in the visualisation processes of both Minoan and Mycenaean rituals seems peculiar. The attributes are an important aspect of these processes. Part of the problem in the definition of criteria for distinguishing specific divinities in Aegean iconography is tightly connected with the difficulties in the identification and semantic analysis of attributes.[153] The question, thus, arises: which were the visual strategies in transforming a simple anthropomorphic figure into a divine image used by Minoans and Mycenaeans themselves? In Classical Greece, gods and goddesses were characterised by a variety of different attributes and features of identification enabling a—more or less—unmistakable definition in the respective iconographic context, which can be further reinforced by various attendants.[154] The trident of Poseidon, the snake of Asklepios, the *kerykeion* of Hermes as well as the club and lion skin of Herakles are visual formulae, which could be enlarged, concretised and defined as iconic attributes of individual divine or mythological figures. These definitions could further be combined with less specific features like a beard and clarified by written annotations of the name (*e.g.* in vase painting).

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[150] See Evans 1935, 168–171; Reusch 1958, esp. 353–356; Hägg – Lindau 1984, 68; Niemeier 1986, 74–77. *Cf.* also Hiller 2006.

[151] *Cf.* Whittaker 1997, 150 on the clay figures from the "cult centre" at Mycenae: "... the poses of the figures seem to be of greater importance than the individual identity of the figures; the cultic function of the figures can therefore be interpreted as a continuous representation of cult activity".

[152] Niemeier 1990, 165–170 suggested this on the basis of the early Mycenaean iconography.

The well-known gold ring from the "treasure of Tiryns" best exemplifies the inherent difficulties in the analysis of possible attributes (*fig. 24*).[155] Although this image is full of concrete details, such as the enthroned figure with its special headgear, garment and drinking cup, the procession of Minoan "Genii", the astral motifs, and the socle of half-rosettes, there is no way to categorise this deity, to isolate and to abstract its iconographic composition, to decide which feature is essential for its identification; last but not least, in the entire corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean images there is no second example of a divinity accompanied by the same iconic signs. One of the most essential problems is that, in order to go deeper into matters of Aegean religious beliefs and attitudes, a clear definition of similarities and differences between related iconographic contexts is required. But, if we are often unable to define the similarities, how can we find the way to recognise, which are the real specificities?

Whereas the evidence of the Linear B texts is more or less restricted to records of individual deities' names, the iconography of Aegean gods and goddesses remains *a priori* anonymous. Linear B texts from Pylos possibly indicate that a goddess named *me-za-na* featured some military aspects,[156] and it appears tempting to correlate her with the goddesses carrying weapons as depicted in wall paintings in the "cult centre" of Mycenae (*fig. 2–3*).[157] Could the goddess in the smaller wall panel of the "house with the fresco complex" (*fig. 2*) represent the "mistress of grain", *i.e.* the goddess *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* mentioned in a text from Mycenae, as has been already suggested?[158] It is also highly tempting to recognise the origin of the Cretan Zeus in the "young god" (*fig. 13, 15*) who is sometimes associated with notions of fertility and vegetation.[159] What is still missing, however, is a clearly established iconographic definition of a Minoan Zeus Kretagenes and his delimitation by iconographic means from other young gods or human youths.

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[153] *Cf.* Furumark 1965, 96; Marinatos 1993, 165; Dickinson 1994, 180; Laffineur 2001.
[154] See Joannis Mylonopoulos' paper in the present volume.
[155] *CMS* I no. 179.
[156] Hiller 1981, 103.

In the analysis of Aegean divinities we should bear in mind the later Greek pantheon, but a line of argument from a Classical Greek perspective backwards would certainly be the wrong way for approaching the religious iconography of Bronze Age Greece. In spite of the obvious correspondences among many Linear B theonyms, the iconic language of Classical Greece can hardly deliver any hints towards the identification of divine attributes in the iconographic repertoire of the Aegean Bronze Age. For example, there can be no definite answer to whether the Aegean column represents Hera, whether a Mycenaean ivory group consisting of two women and a child really represents Demeter, Kore, and Ploutos, whether Cretan wild goats (*fig. 6*) had anything to do with a Minoan Artemis, whether the warrior aspect of female deities (*fig. 11*) might reflect Pallas Athena, whether a naked female deity associated with birds should be interpreted as Aphrodite, and whether ecstatic ritual dances in the Aegean (*fig. 19*) could be understood as a Dionysiac element.[160] Furthermore, it is a fact that, in sharp contrast to the later Greek pantheon, in Aegean Bronze Age iconography we can hardly find any male divinity in an advanced age and wearing a beard. The Linear B texts from Pylos refer to *po-se-da-o* (Poseidon) as the most prominent deity in the palace-state of Messenia;[161] yet, we are unable to get any idea of how the Bronze Age Pylians imagined their god, which were his concrete domains and fields of efficacy, and what kind of attributes could have been ascribed to his sphere of action as visual characterisations. As a consequence, we might tend to argue that, in the reverse of M.P. Nilsson's definition of the

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[157] See here n. 38 and 40.

[158] *Cf.* van Leuven 1979, 116–118; Danielidou 1986; Rehak 1992, 57–58; Laffineur 2001, 389.

[159] See, for example, Bloedow 1991 and Postlethwaite 1999.

[160] Simon 1998, 55–57. 82–83. 135–136. 156–158. 210. 234. 249–250.

[161] See here n. 15.

Bronze Age Aegean as a "picture book without text", our actual knowledge of Mycenaean religion is rather based on texts without conclusive pictures.[162]

In only a few cases, recurrent symbols and requisites can be attributed to distinct deities.[163] Among these attributes range various weapons carried by female or male deities (*fig. 2, 3, 11*), a high peaked headgear worn by a male deity (*fig. 14*), the "snake frame" attributable to a female deity (*fig. 9–10*), and lions or griffins as companions (*fig. 2, 7–10, 12–14, 21, 25*). Nevertheless, most attributes do overlap and can be simultaneously used to characterise a divine figure,[164] as in the case of accompanying beasts, fabulous creatures, and altars with incurved sides. Of course, monkeys, goats, birds, or the half-rosette-motif (*fig. 3, 24, 25*) could be interpreted as exclusively belonging to the sphere of religious symbolism, but they do seem to have been multivalent and interchangeable, and nothing suggests that they always occur in conjunction with one and the same deity. Are we really allowed to define female figures associated with marine elements such as dolphins or boats as depictions of a single goddess of the sea?[165] For example, it would be reasonable to distinguish between an individual chthonic goddess marked by snakes and a goddess of the sky characterised by birds. However, how can we interpret the figurine of a goddess depicted with both symbols as in the case of a Late Minoan clay statuette from Kannia?[166] Amongst the terracotta statues from the "cult centre" at Mycenae, axe-hammers occur in association with both male and female figures[167] and consequently did not serve to define a specific deity. Thus, most sacred motifs and *insignia* may constitute unspecific religious symbols, rather than distinct attributes individually used to visually define divinities and their spheres of control. M. Moss may well be correct in stating that "the identification of [Minoan] deities may depend on the combination of symbols and the archaeological context in which they appear. In this way, a particular symbol may be used in a variety of ways, with others to signify different deities or different aspects of the same divinity".[168] Nevertheless, especially the long-living tradition of Aegean figurative scenes demonstrates that the majority of images depict divinities as human figures of higher rank lacking any symbols (*cf. fig. 15, 18, 23*). The objects carried and offered by votaries or priestesses / priests to a deity in Minoan and Mycenaean procession scenes (*fig. 23*) reflect the same Aegean attitude against tendencies of concretisation. These objects are interchangeable and unspecific precious *paraphernalia*, which do not enable a more distinct definition of the divine recipient or of the ceremony itself.[169] This also applies to ritual instruments, such as rhyta, kernoi, triton shells, palettes, and other prominent forms of cult equipment found at numerous sacred places of the Aegean Bronze Age.

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[162] *Cf.* also Brelich 1968, esp. 919–920.
[163] See here n. 83–89.
[164] *Cf.* Branigan 1969, 35–38; Marinatos 1993, esp. 165.
[165] See, for example, Boulotis 1987b; Boulotis 1989. *Cf.* also Laffineur 2001, 390–391.
[166] See Gesell 1985, 65 and Rethemiotakis 1998, 40 fig. 43.
[167] Moore – Taylour 1999, esp. 97.
[168] Moss 2005, 151.

This is not the place to discuss the concrete meanings of prominent and complex symbolic motifs of the Bronze Age Aegean, such as the double-axe, the "horns of consecration", the sacral knot, the column, the tree, the bird, the snake, the "snake frame", or the bullhead.[170] Of course, motifs like these functioned as cult symbols both on Minoan Crete and in Mycenaean Greece. Most of them, however, are not strictly confined to the cultic sphere, and rather belong to some kind of palatial symbolism with strong religious components. Thus, they could have been more associated with the ideological apparatus of palatial elites than with the cult of specific deities. Aegean symbols like the "horns of consecration" (*fig. 2, 8, 13, 17, 23*) occur in the realm of palaces, smaller buildings, and cult edifices, and not every building crowned by double-horns (*fig. 8, 17*) should be understood as a shrine in a narrow sense.[171] Even if the origin of these palatial motifs lies in integrative ceremonies of religious and / or political character, they were by no means exclusively confined to one or to a group of distinct divinities. It is indisputable that on Minoan Crete as well as in the Mycenaean Greek mainland, the spheres of society, politics, and religion have been tightly intermingled with each other, and a closer intercultural comparative study, for example, with the Byzantine period could be very instructive.[172]

Furthermore, the relative scarcity of visual representations of male deities is a remarkable fact, which cannot be explained by a coincidental situation of archaeological finds alone. This iconographic phenomenon stands in sharp contradiction to the literary evidence of the Linear B texts from Knossos and the palatial archives in the Greek mainland. Especially in comparison with the Classical Greek pantheon, the predominance of female divinities in Mycenaean imagery is highly astonishing. Solely based on the iconography of mural decoration (*fig. 2*) and the statues found in the "cult centre" at Mycenae, we would have had to conclude that in Late Helladic IIIB only one or a few female deities have been venerated in Mycenaean Greece and no male divinities at all, an assumption totally unsustainable.[173] Thus, even regarding the gender of divine figures, it is doubtful that the same deities that were mentioned in the texts were also represented in the world of Aegean images.

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[169] Blakolmer 2007a, 41–57.

[170] Rutkowski 1981; Gesell 1985, 62–63; Marinatos 1986; Pötscher 1990; Moss 2005, esp. 195–205.

[171] See esp. D'Agata 1992.

[172] *Cf.* Bintliff's "Monastery Model": Bintliff 1977, esp. 160–164.

As has been already stressed, Aegean iconography can by no means be interpreted as a strict reproduction of real circumstances, and this apparently applies also to the interrelation of religious beliefs and imagery. The iconic neutrality of an indistinct female figure in images of obvious religious character does not automatically mean that Minoan goddesses have been conceived with an unspecific, generic nature. At the same time, it is important to emphasise that not every object held by a deity is an attribute *per se* and, thus, designates the individual domain of the respective deity. The traditional postulate of a single "Great Minoan goddess" worshiped under various aspects[174] could be appropriate to solve *some* of our difficulties, but definitely not the main problem itself, which the unmistakable evidence of the literary sources poses: there was a pantheon that cannot be securely detected in the visual media. Even if we might define some attributes for specific deities in a few Aegean images, there still remains the fundamental question: why was there never an attempt to standardise and stabilise common visual *topoi* for the depiction of divine figures? We have to admit that we are not yet in the position to fully comprehend the symbolic language of religious images in the Aegean Bronze Age in order to answer such basic questions with a higher grade of probability.

Beyond any doubt, a statistic analysis would certainly reveal the fragility of our attempts to recognise distinct deities in iconography. Thus, a strange question arises: were Aegean people themselves able and willing to distinguish between the images of their deities? To put it differently, could visual representations of divine figures have been simply understood as unspecific, generic, interchangeable figures of any divinity? In respect to the attributes of distinct Minoan deities, N. Marinatos conclusively argued that "the concept is more important than specialised identity, and it is the concept that is conveyed by the image".[175] Observations like this fit well the aforementioned model of "enacted epiphany": if the deity has been substituted by a priest / priestess or another human person in ritual performances, it goes without saying that in visual representations of such enactments this "virtual deity" was depicted in a rather generic, hyper-individual manner. The fact that in several cases little emphasis is given even on the gender of clay figurines might also indicate a rather indistinct character of such figures, thus, pointing to an "emphasis on action rather than identity".[176] As C. Renfrew assumed, the identity of at least some female sacred images in Aegean Bronze Age shrines "might be made clear by the prayers and ritual observations held in her honour".[177] Thus, the widespread absence of any specification of divine figures on Minoan Crete and in Mycenaean Greece allows the logical hypothesis that the sacred *per se* has been mainly represented without any concrete and detailed indications of the personality and essence of a single deity. This would mean that in the Aegean Bronze Age, the depiction of divinities was often guided by an intentional ambiguity, hence giving the opportunity to the beholder to recognise in a divine image whatever he wanted and whatever he actually needed. This result can by no means be completely satisfactory, but it, nevertheless, demonstrates one possible way to explain the contradictory appearance of Aegean deities in the iconographic sources.

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[173] See Renfrew 1985, 421 and 437–438.

[174] Evans 1928, 277; Peatfield 1994, 34–35; Peatfield 2000, 141–142.

Results and further perspectives

At first sight, the objective preconditions for the establishment of an Aegean Bronze Age iconography with decipherable deities defined by emblems appear quite good: long-living, rather homogeneous palatial societies having an enormous impetus of representing religious themes in a multitude of artistic media. In fact, however, we are almost unable to define any coherent systems underlying these images and figurines of religious character. Although the Linear B sources name numerous divinities to be identified with later Greek divinities, in Aegean iconography hardly any Mycenaean divine figure can be detected as direct iconographic forerunner of a so-called Olympian deity with its distinct attributes. This means that, in spite of numerous Mycenaean deities bearing identical names with those of the Homeric and post-Homeric eras, their iconography remains rather indistinct and possibly attached to earlier, pre-Mycenaean, at least partly Minoan traditions. In any case, the upheaval in Greek religious iconography took place not before the early first millennium.[178] It remains unclear whether these traditional Minoan modes of representing deities always fitted the Mycenaean visual imagination about Greek gods and goddesses; we may suppose a rather abstract Mycenaean conception of the divine during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, on the one hand rooted in Minoan iconography, on the other hand anticipating some notions of the later Homeric and post-Homeric deities. The key problem in the comprehension of Aegean Bronze Age religion, therefore lies not so much in bringing the literary, iconographic, and artifactual information in adequate correlation to each other, but rather in the recognition of the degree of abstraction of the diverse archaeological and iconographic sources. Thus, only at first sight does it appear paradoxical that the Minoan cult has often been interpreted as having an aniconic character. Nevertheless, the problems under discussion concern the entire development of the Aegean Bronze Age both on Minoan Crete and in the Mycenaean world.

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[175] Marinatos 1993, 165.

[176] Moore 1988, 222–224; Moore – Taylour 1999, 96–97. *Cf.* also Renfrew 1985, 22–23.

[177] Renfrew 1985, 433.

We should not expect the existence of any clear or exclusive attributes for specific deities in Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography. Although the Aegean Bronze Age pantheon seems to have been extensive and manifold already from its very beginning, and the respective images, obviously, reflect this plurality, the visual language of both Minoans and Mycenaeans seems to have always operated in a way that neglected encoded systems of attributive definitions of deities. Double-axes, "horns of consecration", sacral knots, and other emblems as well as fabulous creatures served a variety of functions, but apparently the definition of individual deities was not part of them. Although a large amount of visual symbols existed in Aegean religion, individualization, personification, and formal standardisation of divine images by means of distinctive attributes were not of primary interest. Moreover, in the Aegean Bronze Age, images of divinities were not an essential requisite in the communicative processes between adorants and deities, at least to the extent that cult images were only required in sporadic cases, at the best. We should not expect any substantial clarification by further archaeological finds made in the future. Recently, J. Weingarten concluded about Minoan and Mycenaean seal glyptic imagery: "... if, after studying cult scenes for 100 years, the best we can do is to begin again, we are surely asking the wrong questions".[179] Without any doubt, this statement applies also to questions about the Minoan as well as the Mycenaean iconography of divinities. It appears that other forms of ritualised contact attracted the attention of Aegean Bronze Age societies and not so much the concrete visualisation and individual iconic definition of their goddesses and gods, which they venerated doubtless in large numbers.

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[178] See esp. Morgan 1996 and Pakkanen 2000–2001.

One reason for the rather anonymous, and thus undecipherable presentation of divine figures could be possibly seen in the character of the Minoan and Mycenaean rulership, which had an essential religious component.[180] Although according to the information of the Linear B texts and archaeological observations, a powerful monarch (*wanax*) was in charge of every Mycenaean palace state, individual rulers have never been represented, and this most probably applies to Neopalatial Crete as well. In close analogy to deities, the highest political authorities possessed divine qualities, and both political rulers and divinities lack a representation by means of monumental statues and cult images respectively. As a consequence, it appears tempting to assume that the aniconic character of rulership in the Aegean—presumably due to a particular notion of theocracy and sacred kingship—did not allow any extensive representation of other individual divinities either.

Aegean Bronze Age religious customs appear highly contradictory, since there was a belief in the existence of a complex pantheon, but any distinctive features in the worship of different deities were essentially lacking. Obviously, cult images as models for the visualisation of individual deities were not invented. Not even the rituals for different divinities seem to demonstrate any differentiation or specialisation during the second millennium BCE. In this respect, many features of the Minoan and Mycenaean religions do not correspond to other polytheistic religious systems in the ancient world.

In my view, these observations can only suggest the following: the remarkably constant religious structure in the Aegean seems to have emerged from a conservative and persistent attitude towards traditional ritual practices, which lasted more or less the entire second millennium BCE and demonstrated no need to visualise the involved divinities. In addition, we get the impression of a strongly syncretistic and subsequently systematised religion. These features, which, as has been already observed above are contradictory suggest a fundamental change from a rather "impersonal", abstract religious concept to a "person-orientated", restructured theology, which has nothing to do with a shift from monotheism to polytheism. Although such an explanatory model based on the coincidence of two different religious systems would certainly require further research,[181] it seems to be clear that this process of theological upheaval cannot be simply the result of a Mycenaean introduction of Greek deities into the Cretan world, since it already affects some earlier periods of Minoan Crete. It might have taken place around the beginning of the Neopalatial period and probably coincided with a discontinuity in the ritual system of peak sanctuaries, the increase of ritual functions of the so-called Minoan villas, the massive formation of an imagery with strong religious connotations, and the rise of an overall more complex iconography on Neopalatial Crete. Such profound changes must also reflect some fundamental transformation in society and politics throughout the Middle Minoan III period.[182]

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[179] Weingarten 2000, 144.
[180] See esp. Maran – Stavrianopoulou 2007.

It is quite astonishing how closely connected the Late Mycenaean religious system was with traditional concepts and models of Neopalatial Crete. The official language of the Mycenaean artistic expression was not very inventive. This is the reason why we should not expect a Mycenaean invention of a new, Greek repertoire of ritual iconography and symbols. Visual expressions of Mycenaean religious beliefs are basically typified by an orientation towards traditional Minoan concepts and a strong conservatism, which is also well attested in elite architecture, the fine arts, the Linear B script system, as well as in some ideological and political aspects.[183] Hence, in many respects continuity rather than fundamental changes or fragmentation was the main framework of society. This could also be the reason for the absence of any substantial changes in ritual iconography in the Mycenaean Greek mainland. Whereas during the Early Mycenaean periods (sixteenth – early fourteenth centuries BCE) Minoan religious symbolism and iconography fulfilled a highly integrative function among the elites on the Greek mainland,[184] in the

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[181] *Cf.* also Dickinson 1994, esp. 180.

[182] *Cf.* Gesell 1985; Walberg 1992, 127 and 141–148; Blakolmer 1997, 100–103; Kyriakidis 2005a, 77–98 and 124–126.

[183] See the very stimulating article by Maran – Stavrianopoulou 2007.

[184] See esp. Whittaker 2002.

Mycenaean palace era of the Late Helladic IIIA2-IIIB2 periods (*ca*. 1370–1200 BCE) there is abundant evidence for an iconographic syncretism and even artistic confusions, but no indication for the emergence of basically new iconographic definitions of the rich and manifold Mycenaean pantheon, well attested so far only by literary sources. Thus, the question about the missing attributes of deities and cult images on the Mycenaean mainland—in spite of a quite Greek pantheon—can easily be answered: Minoan Crete had fixed, long-living standards, which were also kept valid throughout the Mycenaean palace periods. Since Neopalatial Crete could not deliver any models for the concept of cult images and individual sacred attributes, the Mycenaeans were not willing to independently invent such iconographic prototypes. Therefore, the decisive clue for our understanding of the peculiarly restricted iconography of cult and power in the Aegean Bronze Age has to be looked for in Minoan Crete of earlier periods.

The essential problem in the comprehension of religious iconography in the Aegean Bronze Age is an inadequate knowledge of the religious developments and of the dynamics and mechanisms of changing concepts.[185] The postulate of a reorganisation of religious matters, namely the construction of a systematised theology, for example, by a group of priests, could well apply to the Minoan world of early Neopalatial Crete. Although the pantheon of the Late Mycenaean centres in the Greek mainland and on Mycenaean Crete appears according to the literary evidence rather homogeneous, some aspects of a dynamic, organic development with regional traditions and diversities becomes also visible in the Linear B texts.[186] Nevertheless, the iconographic evidence alone reflects changes in the visual manifestation of religion, but does not offer any clear hints of variations inside the pantheon or of changes in domain and nature of distinct deities. Interestingly enough, the archaeological evidence for religious customs on Mycenaean Crete proves to be quite different from that of the Neopalatial period, but also distinct from that in the contemporary Mycenaean centres of the Greek mainland.[187] This could lead to the conclusion that the same Mycenaean deities were worshiped in the Greek mainland and on Crete, but by the means of different cult practices—an additional point, which should warn against uncritical, precipitated attempts to superficially interpret the ritual iconography of the Aegean in its complex interrelationship of religious, social, and political agents by simply using explanatory models that might have been fruitful in the study of other visual systems.

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[185] See esp. Betancourt 1999 and Kilian 1992.

[186] *Cf.* Hägg 1997.

[187] See esp. Hägg 1988; Hägg 1997; Kilian 1992, 15.

Of course, the results and suggestions expressed in the present contribution should by no means be considered final. To demonstrate, however, that the Bronze Age Aegean was in some respects walking along its very particular paths, dissimilar to those of other civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean and also foreign to those chosen by Classical antiquity, can be the first step in approaching more adequate and satisfactory solutions.

ANICONISM AND THE NOTION OF THE "PRIMITIVE" IN GREEK ANTIQUITY[1]

Milette Gaifman

Johann Joachim Winckelmann opened the first chapter of his landmark book *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* of 1764 with a discussion of the beginnings of Greek art.[2] As a proof that art was native to the ancient Greeks he asserted: "… they already visibly honored thirty deities before they gave them human form; they were content to represent them by a rough block or a rectangular stone, as the Arabs and the Amazons did. The Juno at Thespiai and the Diana at Ikaria were formed much the same way".[3] Winckelmann identified the seeds of Greek art in aniconic monuments—*stelai* and unwrought stones—that were not shaped in human form and were addressed as divinities. These constituted essential cornerstones for his philhellenic project;[4] they proved his central idea that artistic representation was indigenous to the Greeks and was not the product of exterior influences.[5] For Winckelmann, the greatness of Greek art was to be attributed to the superiority of the Greeks and not to any other culture.[6]

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[1] I am thankful to Joannis Mylonopoulos for the great opportunity to have this article included in this volume. I delivered a shorter version of this paper at the 2008 APA and I am thankful to the organisers of the panel in which it was presented, Verity Platt and Michael Squire. I gained a lot from the comments of the other participants, Christian Kaesser, Richard Neer, and Jen Trimble, as well as the discussion and the audience, particularly from Simon Goldhill and Froma Zeitlin. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewer for the helpful comments and to Jaś Elsner for his remarks on an earlier draft of the printed version.

[2] Winckelmann 1764.

[3] Winckelmann 2006, 112.

[4] On Winckelmann's philhellenism specifically, see Marchand 1996, 7–16. For general discussions of Winckelmann's work, see Potts 2000 and Potts 2006.

[5] Winckelmann's idea of the indigenousness of Greek art was both fundamental to his work and a contested subject among historians of Greek art and religion as well as German Neohumanist scholars in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; some scholars, such as Heinrich Meyer (*e.g.* Meyer 1824), and Karl Gottlieb Wilhelm Bötticher (*e.g.* Bötticher 1856), adopted it while others, such as Gottfried Semper (in Semper 2004, originally published in 1860), and Johannes Adolph Overbeck (*e.g.* Overbeck 1864a), allowed for external influences within their reconstructions of the development of Greek art. For further discussion of the debate among historians of Greek art and religion, see Donohue 2005, 62–73. For a broader overview of the debate in Neohumanist circles, see Vick 2002.

Despite the centrality of aniconic monuments to Winckelmann's overall agenda as evidence for the innateness of Greek art, they are not mentioned in the core of the book either in the descriptions of artists and materials, or in the explanations for the supremacy of Greek art and its achievements. Winckelmann's *Geschichte* suggests that *stelai* and stones that are addressed as divinities are not only primeval and indigenous, but also unsophisticated, inferior to cultural progress, and effectively marginal; in other words they could be qualified as what will become known in the course of the nineteenth century as "primitive".[7]

Aniconic monuments are unequivocally characterised as primitive in M.P. Nilsson's classic work *Greek Folk Religion*,[8] first published under the title *Greek Popular Religion* in 1940.[9] The great historian of Greek religion described an ancient Greek peasant who walks in some uncultivated grounds: "if our peasant passed a heap of stones, he might place above it a bit of his provision as an offering. He performed this act as a result of custom, without knowing the real reason for it, but he knew that a god was embodied in the stone heap and in the tall stone standing on top of it. He named the god Hermes after the stone heap (*herma*) in which he dwelt and he called the tall stone a herm."[10] Nilsson's fictional countryman did not possess any rational faculties; he acted out of habit not out of reflection and assumed that a measly heap of stones was the embodiment of a god, *i.e.* Hermes.

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[6] This point is made explicitly for example in Winckelmann 2006, 186–191.

[7] The adjective "primitive" is defined in the on-line edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* as: 1. *Original; not developed or derived from anything else; archetypal; essential, fundamental*. 2a. *Of or relating to the first age, period, or stage of development; relating to early times; early, ancient*. 2b. *Of emotion or instinct: characteristic of an early stage of human development*. 3a. *Having a quality or style associated with an early or ancient period; old-fashioned; simple, basic, rudimentary; unsophisticated, crude. 3b. Belonging or relating to a culture characterized by isolation, low technology, and simple social and economic organization*.

The English word "primitive" is first used in the fifteenth century when it described the firstborn, and a progenitor. It acquired its current set of meanings and connotations in the course of the nineteenth century. On the history of the notion of the primitive, see Kuper 2005.

[8] Nilsson 1961.

[9] Nilsson 1940 is the printed version of the lectures delivered by Nilsson across the US in 1939–1940. On the book and its impact see A.D. Nock's introduction to the second edition, Nilsson 1961, xiii–xv.

[10] Nilsson 1961, 8.

In this description as well as in the entire book Nilsson situated aniconism squarely within the unsophisticated, simple, crude strata of religious life, locating the phenomenon under the category of the "primitive", and setting the emphasis on isolation, low technology, and social simplicity that the term connotes.[11] Like Winckelmann, Nilsson's aniconic monuments served as building blocks for a scholarly argument, which centres on the extent to which Greek religion was to be regarded as primitive. Contrary to scholars like J. Harrison and J. Frazer, Nilsson wished to show that Greek religion was advanced, complex, and precisely *not* primitive.[12] Square blocks and heaps of stones in the primitive margins were instrumental for putting the sophistication of mainstream Greek religious practice in sharper relief.

Both Winckelmann and Nilsson turned to stones and *stelai* to support a greater point regarding the nature of Greek art and religion, as neither was interested specifically in aniconic monuments *per se*. However, their perception of revered pillars and poles as essentially primitive dominated the fields of Classical art and archaeology and history of Greek religion in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the decades spanning between Winckelmann's and Nilsson's time, scholars acknowledged the existence of Greek aniconism, yet generally perceived it as essentially primitive and concomitantly as marginal.[13] Noteworthy in the literature are the two articles of 1864 on the history of Greek image worship, in which J.A. Overbeck, the prominent nineteenth century Classical archaeologist and great collector of written sources on ancient art,[14] situated stones and poles in the very beginnings of Greek image worship at a primeval age in which Greek art was supposedly aniconic.[15] In fact, to the best of my knowledge, the term *anikonisch* is first attested in Overbeck's descriptions of a presumed primeval aniconic age that came before the postulated great iconic age of Greek naturalism. According to this reconstruction, Greek art evolved from primitive aniconism to sophisticated naturalism, which was achieved through cultural progress and guided by anthropomorphism. Although Overbeck did not use the term "primitive", which became far more current after E.B. Tylor's influential work *Primitive Culture* of 1871,[16] he effectively characterized Greek aniconism as primitive.

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[11] See n. 4 for *OED* definition.

[12] Nilsson 1961, 3–4. On J. Harrison and J. Frazer and their school of thought that was inspired by the developments in the field of anthropology in the turn of the twentieth century, see Ackerman 1991.

[13] See, for example, Thiersch 1829 or one of the most influential nineteenth century handbooks on Greek art, Müller-Welcker 1848, which was also translated into English, Müller-Welcker 1852. A similar approach emerges from studies specifically dedicated to the subject, *e.g.* Maass 1929; Lenormant 1881; Reisch 1896; Saglio 1877.

[14] Overbeck 1868.

[15] Overbeck 1864a and Overbeck 1864b.

The classification of aniconic monuments as primitive is made explicitly in the only published monograph dedicated to the subject thus far: M.W. de Visser's *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* of 1903. In this book, de Visser catalogued textual and material evidence for Greek aniconism and situated his pillars and poles among other allegedly primitive cult practices, namely, theriomorphism and tree worship. He viewed Greek veneration of aniconic monuments as a form of totemism and animism, and compared the ancient evidence for the phenomenon to so-called contemporary primitive cultures of his day. De Visser's assumptions and methods were couched squarely within the turn-of-the-twentieth-century anthropological approaches and discourse, which centred on the nature of the primitive.[17] In this context, Greek aniconism exemplifies the primitive stratum of Greek religious practice.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century perceptions of Greek aniconism still persist. Although the phenomenon is generally acknowledged,[18] it is ascribed to the margins of Greek culture,[19] associated with geographical and cultural backwaters,[20] linked to the underdeveloped strata of religious thought and practice,[21] and seen as marginal to the centre of Greek religion and art.[22] The typical explanations for the existence of the noted aniconic monuments are that these are remnants from the deep past, and / or imports from other cultures, primarily the Orient.[23] Altogether, whether implicitly or explicitly, the aniconic is seen as primitive and consequently as the marginal opposite to normative anthropomorphic Greek images of the divine.

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[16] Tylor 1871.

[17] De Visser 1903. De Visser's monograph is the German version of his Leiden Ph.D. thesis of 1900: *De Graecorum Diis non Referentibus Speciem Humanum*. The anthropological grounding of De Visser's work is apparent from the attention his thesis received from anthropologists of the time; see for example the dissertation review, Hartland 1901. The focus on the question of the nature of the primitive was on the rise already in the nineteenth century. It became the main focus of the discipline of anthropology following the publication of Tylor 1871 with notable works such as Robertson Smith 1889 and Frazer 1900 that appeared later on in a variety of expanded and abridged editions. For further discussion on the anthropological fascination with the primitive, see Douglas 1966; Kuper 1988, 8–35; Kuper 2005; in literature, see Rossetti 2006.

[18] Notably, many entries of the *LIMC* include aniconic monuments as a category of classification, typically listed first. See for example, Hermary 1986; Kahil 1984.

[19] For example, Arkadia a region reputed for its remoteness, isolation and great antiquity, yielded the best-preserved and documented aniconic monuments. See first publication in Rhomaios 1911.

[20] For example, Miller 1974 in his discussion of the Thessalian altar of the Six Goddesses.

[21] For example, Nilsson 1961 and Nilsson 1974, 199–209.

[22] For example, Stewart 1990, 43–45.

This perception is significant both for our understanding of the question of Greek aniconism on its own and more importantly for our view of Greek religious art in general. First, let us turn to the question of Greek aniconism, which is still understudied ever since de Visser's days.[24] The adjective aniconic—literally, without *eikon* (image)—describes the absence of a figural image, and pertains in the context of religious art to the demarcation of divine presence without figuration.[25] It does not *necessarily* imply the veneration of a non-figural object. In other traditions, such as Buddhist and Near Eastern religious art, in which forms of veneration without a figural image are known to have existed—for example, the adoration of empty thrones—aniconism has been recognized as a phenomenon that encompasses a broad range of cult practices.[26] By contrast, in the Greek context, as a result of the marginalised position that aniconism was allotted, the nature of the category has not been questioned since de Visser's time; Greek aniconism is still assumed to pertain primarily to the veneration of stones, poles and the like, *i.e.* to a so-called material aniconism, which centres on non-figural objects.[27] Other possible options, such as empty seats and spaces of the divine—so-called empty space aniconism—are hardly entertained.[28] As a result, the phenomenon is seen essentially as a type of fetishism—the excessive fascination with objects that is driven by irrational motivations—, which is a symptom of primitive cultures.[29] The underlying tenets of de Visser's approach and assumptions still persist, if not explicitly than lurking in the background.[30]

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[23] For example, Kron 1992, 60.

[24] Some notable exceptions: Rhomaios 1911; Kron 1992; Graf 1987; Doepner 2002; Gaifman 2005; Gaifman forthcoming.

[25] Gladigow 1988, 472 provided the following formal definition: "mit der Bezeichnung 'anikonische Kulte' wird eine Gruppe von Kulten zusamengefaßt, die keine 'Bilder' als Kultobjekte, insbesondere in Form von anthropomorphen Bildern kennen oder zulassen." Mettinger 1995, 19 has a more refined definition of aniconic cults: "cults where there is no iconic representation of the deity (anthropomorphic or theriomorphic) serving as the dominant or central cultic symbol, that is, where we are concerned with either (a) an aniconic symbol or (b) sacred emptiness. I shall call the first of these two types 'material aniconism' and the second 'empty space aniconism'." For a general overview, see Metzler 1985-1986.

[26] Mettinger 1995; Karlsson 2000.

[27] For example, Donohue 1988, 221–225 and Kron 1992.

[28] A notable exception is Metzler 1985-1986.

The notion of Greek aniconism as primitive facilitates an evolutionary model for the development of Greek art.[31] The idea of the primitive entails some comparison between an undeveloped beginning point and a more advanced and evolved stage along some line of development whether chronological, technological, cultural, social, religious, biological, or any other line of progression.[32] The identification of aniconic monuments as primitive suggests that they are to be placed in the very beginnings of the development of Greek art that is then assumed to have evolved over time, and eventually reached its climax in fifth-century BCE naturalism. Winckelmann's *Geschichte* is a pivotal case in point of this common approach, which is still present in the field of Classical art and archaeology.[33]

No one can deny the great achievements of Greek artists and the significance of *mimesis* and naturalism to the history of art in general. Furthermore, it is obvious that Greek art evolved and developed through the mastery of techniques and artistic skill over time. However, progress and development of greater artistic expertise are insufficient lenses for the examination of the meaning of Greek monuments of religious art. Notably, the evolutionary model, which has long been questioned,[34] fails to explain the variety of representational modes—from the fully figural to the aniconic—as well as the existence of forms such as herms or Dionysian poles with masks whose archaeologically attested chronology does not agree with any presumed evolution of Greek art.[35] More significantly, the notion of Greek aniconism as primitive effectively privileges one central representational mode—naturalism—and consequently undermines all others. Not only is the aniconic understudied, but also other modes, such as semi-figural forms, are viewed as aberrances. *Mimesis* and naturalism are seen as the goal, while the great variety of Greek religious art is not recognised for its richness, significance, and meaning in its own right.[36]

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[29] For "fetish" and the notion of "fetishism", see Pietz 2003 with further bibliography.

[30] In Kron 1992 the opening paragraph is a striking example.

[31] See Donohue 1988, 189–194 for a survey of modern scholarship on the subject.

[32] See Hsu 1964.

[33] On Winckelmann's groundbreaking account of ancient art and its lasting impact on the study of the history of Classical art as well as art history in general, see Potts 2000; Potts 2006; Tanner 2006, 3–11. On the notion of evolution in the historiography of Greek art, which still persists in scholarship, see Donohue 2005, 56–62.

[34] Donohue 2005.

[35] Lullies 1931; Goldman 1942; Athanassakis 1989 are examples for the evolutionary model applied to the question of the hermaic form. The herm, however, is a case for the failure of the evolutionary model as an explanation. The earliest known herm is the Herm from Sounion (Athens, National Museum 4864), which is dated to the Archaic period (Rückert 1998, cat. no. 1), whereas Hermes in fully figural form is represented on Corinithian pottery already in the seventh century BCE, for example on the well-known Chigi vase (Rome, Villa Giulia 22679). For further discussion of the evolutionary

Although modern historiographies of the fields of Classical art and archaeology and history of Greek religion reinforced the perception of Greek aniconism as primitive and subsequently as marginal, this is not a modern construct, but has firm roots in antiquity. As in the case of Winckelmann and Nilsson, scholars base their assertions on passages that were culled from ancient texts. My particular concern here is with the ancient perception of aniconic monuments. I will be considering here some of the few passages that mention Greek stone worship, which date from Classical Greece down to Early Christianity. I focus on litholatry in particular, since this cult practice is often viewed as emblematic of aniconism in general.[37] The extracts I examine here were frequently cited in modern literature on Greek aniconism, and were pivotal in shaping the current perceptions of the phenomenon.[38]

My aim is twofold: first, to consider the ancient views of this phenomenon in order to gain a better understanding of its significance in antiquity; second, to assess the degree to which modern perceptions of Greek material aniconism agree with and diverge from the ancient ones by examining whether the qualities ascribed to it in antiquity cohere with the characteristics attributed to the modern notion of the primitive. What will emerge from the following inquiry is that indeed in antiquity Greek

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model in relation to semi-figural forms, see Devambez 1968; Donohue 2005, 125–126. On herms in general, see *e.g.* Rückert 1998 and Krämer 2001; on Dionysian poles with masks, see Frickenhaus 1912 and Durand – Frontisi-Ducroux 1982; generally, on semi-figural forms, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1986.

[36] Similarly, Donohue 2005, 26; as examples of this view Donohue cites Boardman 1996, 23 and Richter 1968, 109–110. For further instances, see *e.g.* Spivey 1996, 43–55; Stewart 1990, 73–85.

[37] For example, wrought and unwrought stones are the first example mentioned in Gladigow 1988, which is a general entry on aniconism in a handbook for the study of religion. Similarly, Kron 1992, opens her exploration of Greek sacred stones with a discussion of aniconic cults, noting that aniconic stone monuments of Hermes were particularly common.

[38] The passages discussed here are cited in basic works on the subject such as, De Visser 1903; Saglio 1877; Nilsson 1967, 199–209.

aniconism in the form of stone worship was generally associated with what may be called "an ancient notion of the primitive".[39] Here, however, we need to attend to the variety of nuances that the notion of the primitive could have. Generally, the classification of something as primitive is made from an outsider's perspective (*e.g.* outside culture, religion, or time period), contrasting the advanced judgment maker with the primitive.[40] For the outsider, the qualities of the primitive need not *necessarily* be esteemed as essentially inferior, as is the case of Romanticism's admiration to the primitive savage.[41] Similarly, in antiquity, what was effectively an ancient classification of something as primitive was made by outsiders for whom the primitive could represent not only inferiority, but also a highly esteemed Golden Age untouched by time and progress.[42] In some cases the primitiveness of aniconism signifies cultural inferiority, whereas in others it implies a greatly cherished deep antiquity. The variety of significances and meanings urges us to reconsider our own notion of the aniconic as primitive in a pejorative sense and as marginal.

Xenophon and Theophrastos: litholatry and primitive superstition

I begin with two passages from the fourth century BCE. In these, litholatry emerges as the result of superstition and overzealous fear of the divine. First, stone worship is mentioned as an example of excessive piety in the context of Sokrates' defence in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*: "As some madmen have no fear of danger and others are afraid where there is nothing to be afraid of, as some will do or say anything in a crowd with no sense of shame, while others shrink even from going abroad among men, some respect neither temple nor altar nor any other sacred thing, others worship stocks (*xyla*) and stones and beasts."[43]

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[39] The main work on the subject is still Lovejoy-Boas 1965.

[40] This problem of perspective is often being downplayed as M. Douglas notes regarding the field of social anthropology in Douglas 1966, 22–23: "Another difficulty is our long tradition of playing down the difference between our own point of vantage and that of primitive cultures. The very real differences between 'us' and 'them' are made little of, and even the word 'primitive' is rarely used." Obviously, this point applies to other areas of inquiry such as art history. See also *e.g.* Hsu 1964 and Antliff-Leighten 2003.

[41] *e.g.* Rossetti 2006, 4.

[42] Lovejoy-Boas 1965.

[43] Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.14: τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὁτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὔθ᾽

Xenophon's Sokrates responds to his philosophical rivals by using a series of contrasting modes of behaviour.[44] He lists three pairs of opposing extreme behaviours. The first attitude in each pair exemplifies boldness, arrogance, and self-confidence. The second exemplifies the opposite: shyness, lack of self-confidence, and great fear. The first pair in the list concerns the relationship between men and their environment in general, the second pair relates to the relationship between men and other people, and the third pair refers to the relationship between men and the divine.[45] Stone worship is listed in the final pair, where great arrogance with respect to the gods that is manifested in complete disregard for sacred things is contrasted with excessive respect for the divine, which results in the veneration of stones, stocks (*xyla*) and even animals. This final pair suggests that stone worshippers do not distinguish between proper degrees of piety and excessive worship. They can be said to be lacking critical judgment with respect to the divine assuming that virtually anything even beasts deserve veneration.

Similar characterisation of litholatry appears in Theophrastos' description of the superstitious man in the *Characters*:

> Superstitiousness, I need hardly say, would seem to be a sort of cowardice with respect to the divine; and your Superstitious man such as will not sally forth for the day till he have washed his hands and sprinkled himself at the Nine Springs, and put a bit of bay-leaf from a temple in his mouth. And if a cat cross his path he will not proceed on his way till someone else be gone by, or he have cast three stones across the street. Should he espy a snake in his house, if it were one of the red sorts he will call upon Sabazius, if of the sacred, build a shrine then and there. When he passes one of the smooth stones set up at crossroads he anoints it with oil from his flask, and will not go his ways till he have knelt down and worshipped.[46]

ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι (Translation E.C. Marchant). On Sokrates' defence in the *Memorabilia*, see Chroust 1957, 44–68; Gray 1995; Gray 1998 (particularly 26–59 on the rhetoric of defence).

[44] Chroust 1957, 53–54; Gray 1998, 27–40.

[45] On the structure of this passage, see Berns 1974-1975.

[46] Theophr. *Char.* 16.1–5: Ἀμέλει ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν ⟨ἂν⟩ εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις οἷος, ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπονιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν. καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐὰν ὑπερδράμῃ γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι, ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλῃ. καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐὰν παρείαν, Σαβάζιον καλεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἱερόν, ἐνταῦθα ἡρῷον εὐθὺς ἱδρύσασθαι. καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριὼν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι (Translation J.M. Edmonds).

Theophrastos' superstitious man is the sixteenth character in the work's series of stereotypical figures whose behaviour is purposely inflated for an ironic effect.[47] The trait that renders his actions absurd is excessiveness; any smooth stone, presumably a marker at the crossroads, deserves full worship, not a single one is to be left unattended. It has long been noted that his acts are not strikingly strange or unattested.[48] As much as washing for purification is not uncommon in the context of Late Classical Greece, some form of veneration of stones cannot be said to be unknown.

If we may risk the extrapolation from Theophrastos' literary sketch of some non-caricaturised idea regarding common practices in Attica of the fourth century BCE, we are probably not entirely wrong in suggesting that some form of litholatry, on some specific possibly rare occasions, was practiced by some people in Late Classical Attica and was not *necessarily* seen as complete divergence from the norms. At the same time, aniconism cannot be said to be presented here as part of the mainstream; it is significant that in its exaggerated form it is listed as a superstitious act, whereas other forms of piety such as temple worship are not mentioned here. The passage is suggestive of an underlying notional affinity between litholatry and superstition.

Theophrastos' superstitious man and Xenophon's excessively pious men cannot be said to belong to the deep past, the rural margins or the underdeveloped areas of Greece. They can be classified as primitive only because of their attitude towards the divine. Here the classification as primitive is not related to history or socio-economic status. It is subjective; one man's superstition is another's piety. The reason why these imaginary characters could be said to be primitive is because such behaviour along with irrationality in general is seen as emblematic of primitive people.[49] In situating litholatry in the absurd margins of religious practice,

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[47] Generally on this text that is typically dated to 319 BCE and its problematic textual tradition that is still partly unresolved, see Navarre 1952, 19–29 and Ussher 1993, 3–31. Note the detailed discussion in Lane Fox 1996, 135–142, who argues for a more complex dating, combining 310 / 9 BCE for one sketch and 323 BCE or earlier for many of the others. Finally, see Diggle 2004, esp. 27–36 (for discussion on date) and 16–19 (on authenticity of the text). Although the text is corrupt, there is no apparent reason to doubt the general sense of the section discussed here, particularly the description of stone worship.

[48] This point was made already in Bolkestein 1929; Borthwick 1966; Diggle 2004, 350. Lane Fox 1996, 152–154 notes the general exaggeration of known practices, but argues that we cannot recover from the text any kind of "normative religion".

[49] *e.g.* Hsu 1964.

Theophrastos and Xenophon's Sokrates give a patronising verdict. Stone worshippers are absurd, unreasonable, and possibly naive in their exaggerated religiosity. At the same time, their customs are the result of their mental simplicity. They do not present any threat to society and cannot be said to be abhorrent. As D. Martin observed in respect to Theophrastos' *Characters*, we are presented here with a set of religious etiquettes that are relevant to the authors' own social class not with ethics.[50] We can say that what emerges here is a form of "black-tie rules" of acceptable behaviour for a certain social group, rather than a type of theological creed. The worship of aniconic stones does not agree with the norms that are advocated by these authors, so that within this particular context it emerges as ridiculous, yet essentially harmless.

Pausanias' aniconism—The survival of the deep past

I move to the second century CE, to Pausanias' *Periegesis*, the richest textual source on aniconism in Greek antiquity to the point that Pausanias' *argoi lithoi*—unwrought stones—have been adopted as a technical term.[51] I begin here with a passage that was paraphrased by Winckelmann in the opening chapter of his *Geschichte*, which I began with: "Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharai adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods".[52] Pausanias' square stones of Pharai and the unwrought stones—*argoi lithoi*— have become indispensable cornerstones of any discussion of Greek aniconism and are frequently cited in scholarly discussions of image worship in general.[53] As such, the statement can be read as a straightforward assertion that the tradition of naming non-figural stones as divinities and worshipping them was practiced not only in Pharai of the second century CE, but also in all of Greece in the very deep past. Here we find a very clear association between aniconism and great antiquity—a primitive age.[54]

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[50] Martin 2004, 26–29.

[51] Pausanias' significance to our knowledge on the subject can be seen in any of the few systematic studies of the question, for example, De Visser 1903 or Nilsson 1967. *Argoi lithoi* was adopted as a technical term already in the Classical dictionaries and encyclopaedias compiled in the nineteenth century, *e.g.* Reisch 1896 and Saglio 1877. The phrase retained its status in the twentieth century as well, *e.g.* Adamesteanu 1970 and Boetto 1997.

[52] Paus. 7.22.4.

[53] *e.g.* Winckelmann 2006; Overbeck 1864a; Gordon 1979; Donohue 1988; Müller 1931; Kron 1992; Donohue 1997.

Pausanias' statement has more to offer than what emerges when read, as it usually is, out of context. Given its overall significance to the question of Greek aniconism, I propose a closer examination, by reading Pausanias' assertion regarding the antiquity of aniconism in its original context—the description of Achaian Pharai:

> Pharai, a city of the Achaeans, belongs to Patrai, having been given to it by Augustus. The road from the city of Patrai to Pharai is a hundred and fifty stades, while Pharai is about seventy stades inland from the coast. Near to Pharai runs the river Pieros, which in my opinion is the same as the one flowing past the ruins of Olenos, called by the men of the coast the Peiros. Near the river is a grove of plane trees, most of which are hollow through age, and so huge that they actually feast in the holes, and those who have a mind to do so sleep there as well. The market place of Pharai is of wide extent after the ancient fashion, and in the middle of it is an image of Hermes, made of stone and bearded. Standing right on the earth, it is of square shape, and of no great size. On it is an inscription, saying that Simylos the Messenian dedicated it. It is called Hermes of the Market, and by it is established an oracle. In front of the image is placed a hearth, which also is of stone, and to the hearth bronze lamps are fastened with lead. Coming at eventide, the inquirer of the god, having burnt incense upon the hearth, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them, puts on the altar on the right of the image a local coin, called a "copper," and asks in the ear of the god the particular question he wishes to put to him. After that he stops his ears and leaves the marketplace. On coming outside he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever utterance he hears he considers oracular. There is a similar method of divination practised at the sanctuary of Apis in Egypt. At Pharai there is also a spring sacred to Hermes. The name of the spring is Hermes' stream, and the fish in it are not caught, being considered sacred to the god. Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharai adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods. About fifteen stades from Pharai is a grove of the Dioskouroi. The trees in it are chiefly laurels; I saw in it neither temple nor images, the latter, according

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[54] This can be seen in various commentaries to the passage such as Musti 1982, VII, 311–312 and Papachatzis 1980, 132. The passage is clearly linked not only to great antiquity, but also to practices of "primitive" cultures in J. Frazer's commentary: Frazer 1898, IV, 154–155, who states: "The worship of rude stones has been practiced all over the world". He then lists occurrences of this practice in different regions of the world such as India, North America, Norway, and Syria, as well as different periods ranging from antiquity up to his own times.

> to the natives, having been carried away to Rome. In the grove at Pharai is an altar of unshaped stones. I could not discover whether the founder of Pharai was Phares, son of Phylodameia, daughter of Danais, or someone else with the same name.[55]

The subject of the description of Achaian Pharai is not the site's history, works of art or aniconism. Rather, it is the oracle of Hermes Agoraios in the main core of the description (7.22.3), which Pausanias describes in far greater detail than any other aspect of the site, insisting on the fine points of the rituals such as the type coin to be offered and its placement.[56] The description of the oracle is sandwiched between the opening section (7.22.1–2) and closing section (7.22.4–5), in which we find the aniconic stones of Pharai.

The opening and closing sections parallel each other, not only structurally but also thematically. First, in both Pausanias provides geographic signposts that situate the Pharaian market place in its surroundings. In each of the sections we find enumerations of geographic elements: in both there is a body of water and a forest; we find the river Pieros and the nearby forest of plane trees in the opening section and the sacred waterway and the forest of the Dioskouroi in the end. The two sections parallel each other in the more ideologically charged themes in the description. The impact of Roman rule on the land of Greece is the first one. The description opens with the statement that the city of Pharai belongs to the Achaians although we are immediately reminded that the city is not an independent Greek polis, but due to Augustan intervention, Pharai was granted to Patrai.[57] Greek norms were altered by Roman presence. A similar notion appears in the closing part of the description (7.22.5). Pausanias notes the troubling absence of the anticipated temple and images in the grove of the Dioskouroi and that the *agalmata* are said by the locals to have been carried away by the Romans.[58] Roman rule has disturbed the customs of the Greek land and its inhabitants.[59]

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[55] Paus. 7.22.1–5: Φαραὶ δέ, Ἀχαιῶν πόλις, τελοῦσι μὲν ἐς Πάτρας δόντος Αὐγούστου, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς Φαρὰς Πατρέων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ ϑαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω πρὸς ἤπειρον περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. ποταμὸς δὲ ῥεῖ πλησίον Φαρῶν Πίερος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὃς καὶ τὰ Ὠλένου παρέξεισιν ἐρείπια, ὑπὸ ἀνϑρώπων τῶν πρὸς ϑαλάσσῃ καλούμενος Πεῖρος. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλατάνων ἐστὶν ἄλσος, κοῖλαί τε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ἥκουσαι μεγέϑους ἐς τοσοῦτο ὥστε καὶ ἑστιῶνται τῶν χηραμῶν ἐντός, καὶ ὁπόσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ᾖ, καὶ ἐγκαϑεύδουσι. Περίβολος δὲ ἀγορᾶς μέγας κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχαιότερόν ἐστιν ἐν Φαραῖς, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ λίϑου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔχον καὶ γένεια: ἑστηκὼς δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ παρέχεται μὲν τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα, μεγέϑει δέ ἐστιν οὐ μέγας. Καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν, ἀναϑεῖναι αὐτὸ Μεσσήνιον Σιμύλον: καλεῖται μὲν δὴ Ἀγοραῖος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρηστήριον καϑέστηκε. Κεῖται δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἑστία, λίϑου καὶ αὐτή, μολίβδῳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν προσέχονται λύχνοι χαλκοῖ. Ἀφικόμενος οὖν περὶ ἑσπέραν ⟨ὁ⟩ τῷ ϑεῷ χρώμενος λιβανωτόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας ϑυμιᾷ καὶ ἐμπλήσας τοὺς λύχνους ἐλαίου καὶ ἐξάψας τίϑησιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐν δεξιᾷ νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον – καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα – καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸ οὖς τὸν ϑεὸν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἐρώτημά ἐστι. Τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιφραξάμενος τὰ ὦτα: προελϑὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέσχεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὤτων, καὶ ἧστινος ἂν ἐπακούσῃ φωνῆς, μάντευμα ἡγεῖται. Τοιαύτη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἑτέρα περὶ τοῦ Ἄπιδος τὸ ἱερὸν μαντεία καϑέστηκεν: ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἱερόν ἐστι τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ: ⟨Ἑρμοῦ⟩ νᾶμα μὲν τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα, τοὺς δὲ ἰχϑῦς οὐχ αἱροῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀνάϑημα εἶναι τοῦ ϑεοῦ νομίζοντες. ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τετράγωνοι λίϑοι τριάκοντα μάλιστα ἀριϑμόν: τούτους σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἑκάστῳ ϑεοῦ τινὸς ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες. Τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι τιμὰς ϑεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίϑοι. Φαρεῦσι δὲ ὅσον πέντε σταδίους καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν ἄλσος Διοσκούρων. δάφναι μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῷ πεφύκασι, ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀγάλματα: κομισϑῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοί φασιν ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ ἀγάλματα. Ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει βωμὸς λίϑων λογάδων ἐστί. Πυϑέσϑαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον εἰ [ὁ] Φάρης ὁ Φυλοδαμείας τῆς Δαναοῦ σφισιν ἢ ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τις ἐγένετο οἰκιστής (Translation of all passages W.H.S. Jones).

[56] This emphasis on ritual rather than works of art and their history is not unique to this passage and can be observed throughout the text, see Elsner 1996.

Against a Greek landscape that was altered by its relatively recent occupiers, Pausanias paints a picture of a surviving deep past, the other theme that appears in both opening and closing section of the description. In the opening section, we encounter plane trees that have hollowed through age and an agora that is laid out according to ancient custom. The grove and the agora with its old-fashioned broad streets offer the visitor to Pharai an experience of a visible past. However, while the hollowness of the trees attests their authentic antiquity, the agora's broad streets indicate that they are made in the old-fashioned way, but are not genuinely old. There are two ways in which the past survives: either through lack of interruption—leaving the trees as they are—or through revival—replicating old manners of urban planning.

The aniconic stones of Pharai and the assertion regarding practices of olden days in the closing section (7.22.4) reiterate the idea of the outlasting past. Pausanias first describes the customs of his own times, the adoration of the thirty square stones, and then he makes his assertion about aniconic worship in Greece of olden days. There is a shift here over time from the reality of the second century CE to true ancient customs. Like the Pharaian agora that is not genuinely ancient, but only recalls old markets, so are the square stones of Pharai. In the true past, all Greeks, not only the inhabitants of Pharai, adored stones that were unhewn, whereas the thirty stones worshipped in Pharai of the second century CE have been shaped by human hands. The statement regarding the unwrought stones parallels the description of the hollow trees of the grove; both are genuinely very ancient. However, Pausanias did not see unwrought stones in Pharai only square ones. These hewn blocks *prompted* the statement regarding aniconism of the very deep past. The aniconic wrought stone evokes the true Greek past.[60] The *argoi lithoi* are genuinely primitive, while the worship of square stones is a type of primitivism.

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[57] The mention here is part of Pausanias' general description of Augustan reorganization of the region and preference given to Patrai (7.18.7). See Lafond 1996, 185–187.

[58] On the significance of such displacements of cult objects by the Romans, see Alcock 1993, 175–180 and Tanja Scheer's article in the present volume.

[59] On Pausanias' attitude towards Roman rule, see Arafat 1996, 80–215 and Swain 1996, 352–353.

The two paralleling sections frame the description of the oracle, which is centred on Hermes Agoraios, the focal point of the oracle that is described in detail prior to the description of the rituals (7.22.2). The image of the god is square shaped, like the thirty square stones that stand quite close to it, but has a beard and ears. This is not an aniconic monument but a composite of geometric and figural forms. In other words this is a herm, a semi-figural monument. The image of Hermes is described as *tetragonon agalma* whereas the stones are *tetragonoi lithoi*. Pausanias shifts from the semi-figural herm—a type of *agalma*—in the core of the passage, to the fully aniconic square stones, which lead him to the *argoi lithoi* of the deep past that were worshipped in place of *agalmata*. The mere mention of monuments one next to the other—semi-figural, geometric aniconic, unwrought aniconic—, and the assertion regarding the greater antiquity of the *argoi lithoi* has a rhetorical effect; it is suggestive of a notion of progression: from the worship of the unfashioned aniconic of the deep past, through the geometric aniconic, to the semi-figural. Still, the Pharaian herm, which forms the focal point of the oracle, is also to be associated with great antiquity, but not quite as remote as the *argoi lithoi*. Pausanias’ note that the oracle of Hermes Agoraios resembles the Egyptian oracle of Apis suggests a link to the land that already Herodotos—one of Pausanias’ main sources—asserted was where religious customs were first introduced and was one of the origins of Greek religion.[61] Like the thirty square stones, the oracle of Hermes

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[60] On the role of objects for the preservation of the past, see Porter 2001, esp. 70–72.

[61] Hdt. 2.50 says that the names of almost all the gods came to Greece from Egypt. Egyptians were the first to set up altars, images, and temples to the gods (Hdt. 2.4.2) In 2.51.1 Herodotos generalises that: ταῦτα μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ ἐγὼ

Agoraios in Achaian Pharai may not have been genuinely very ancient, but resembled a site of divination in the land known as the origins of many of Greece's religious practices.

Altogether the entire description of Achaian Pharai is coloured by the notion of great antiquity that is contrasted with the realities of the second century CE. In this context, the aniconic stones are more than monuments recalling practices of the deep past. They are ideologically charged; they physically assert the continuity of very ancient, indeed primitive Greek customs from great antiquity down to Pausanias' times. In a region that has been altered by Roman presence, these stones profess the direct tie between the people of Pharai and their land, a connection that has not ceded despite foreign presence. The aniconism of Pharai is a form of primitivism that transforms ideas regarding cult practices of the primitive Greek past from theories into tangible visible realities. Thanks to the thirty square stones, ancient Greek customs of the very deep past can outlast Roman rule.[62]

From the square stones of Achaian Pharai, I move on to consider the qualities that Pausanias ascribes to some of the genuinely ancient aniconic monuments, the *argoi lithoi* that he reports to have seen. In Thebes Pausanias asserts: "Quite close to it are three unwrought stones. The Theban antiquaries assert that the man lying here is Tydeus, and that Maeon carried out his burial. As proof of their assertion they quoted a line of the Iliad: 'Of Tydeus, who at Thebes is covered by a heap of earth.'"[63] The three *argoi lithoi* of Thebes are known as the burial

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φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι (Besides these things, which I have mentioned, there are many other practices, which the Greeks learned from Egypt. Translation adopted from Thomas 2000, 276.) On Egypt as the origin of Greek religious customs and names of gods in particular, see Zographou 1995; Harrison 2000, 182–184; Thomas 2000, 274–277.

[62] These observations fit very well with the following: Porter 2001, 75–76 "… nothing could be more wrong than to distinguish between the 'historical' and the 'descriptive' aspect of Pausanias' writing (as Frazer does) or between the 'aetiological' and the 'historiographical' aspects (Veyne). Such compartmentalisations miss the point of the totalising power of Pausanias' selectivity, the ability of his project to flood all of its objects with meaning. Pausanias' selective history is descriptive and his descriptions are historically inflected in the precise senses given above; that is, they are commemorative and laden with historical meaning—they are signs of lost value."

[63] Paus. 9.18.2: Τούτου δὲ ἐγγύτατα τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Θηβαίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες Τυδέα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μαίονος, καὶ ἐς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου παρέσχον τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔπος "Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει".

markers of Tydeus, one of the Seven Against Thebes, whom the local Theban Maeon is said to have buried at the site. They stood close to the grave of Melanippos, who as Pausanias notes in the preceding section (9.18.1) was a great Theban mythological hero. The stones were part of a burial complex that allegedly included the graves of the children of Oedipus as well. Theban heroic history with its great victors and foes was commemorated here. Despite the local significance of the site, the only monuments that Pausanias mentions are the three stones that are said to be atop the tomb of one of Thebes' archenemies, not one of the city's own heroes.

The *argoi lithoi* of Thebes were not only perceived as survivors from great antiquity, they were endowed with a specific highly esteemed mythological pedigree, recounted by no other than Homer. Consequently, they served as material evidence for the local assertion that the Homeric myth with its Theban protagonists is to be localised in this particular place. Pausanias' note in the following section (9.18.3) of the locals' admission that the nearby grave that is said to belong to Teiresias is merely a cenotaph is an important reminder of the value of such monuments. Their significance is not necessarily their actual authenticity—whether Tydeus or the children of Oedipus were truly buried there. Rather, since these stones were *perceived* as tombs of great mythological heroes they materially confirmed the myth and consequently turned the legend into a history that shaped local identity.

In this context, the particular appearance of the stones forms part of the local rhetoric regarding the site. The stones' crudeness is suggestive of their great antiquity as monuments that were not altered over time, and promulgates certain notions regarding the nature of Homeric burial customs. The stones suggest that presumably Homeric burial monuments were simpler than tombstones of later periods. The perceivable primitiveness facilitates such ideas regarding deep antiquity. As mythological tomb markers the *argoi lithoi* of Thebes may have been revered in some grave ritual, such as the one that Pausanias reports to have taken place at the neighbouring tomb of Oedipus' children. We will not be able to conclude whether the particular stones at Thebes received any form of reverence, however, their significance here is not as focal points of rituals, but in their role of turning the myth into a tangible part of the landscape. Primitive here becomes a sign of a great victorious past that affirms local identity in the present.

A similar association between unwrought stones and a local myth occurs in other places as well. In Gytheion in Laconia Pausanias reports:

"Just about three stades from Gytheion is an unwrought stone. Legend has it that when Orestes sat down upon it his madness left him. For this reason the stone was named in the Dorian tongue, Zeus Kappotas."[64] The myth recounted by Pausanias, links the unwrought stone of Gytheion with Orestes, the quintessential local hero in these parts of Greece.[65] As in the case of Thebes, the stone renders the story into part of the region, transforming the notional presence of the hero into part of the realia of the landscape, and thereby preserving Orestes' mythological connection to these Dorian lands. In this case, the story associated with the stone has a particular religious force; the stone is said to be the locus of the revelation of some extraordinary powers—it cured Orestes from his madness when he sat on it. The religious meaning of the event is made explicit in the name given to the stone, Zeus Kappotas. The *argos lithos* of Gytheion is thought of as the locus of the manifestation of divine power, presumably of Zeus, who as the epithet *possibly* indicates,[66] may have been thought to have come down upon Orestes and cured him of his fury.

The act of naming the stone Zeus Kapottas could have further, specifically cultic significances. As we saw in the description of Pharai, the stones are said to be given names of gods and venerated; naming a stone a god is linked with litholatry. This connection between the act of giving the object a divine name and the act of worship is not original to Pausanias, but goes back to the fifth century BCE.[67] In the case of Gytheion, the name not only enables the worship of Zeus at the stone, but the Dorian epithet characterises the cult as specifically local. The roughness of the stone not only localises and asserts the validity of the myth, but also enhances the stone's unique religious status; it is a monument that was kept in its original state when Zeus' powers became manifest in the curing Orestes. Primitive aniconism enhances the cult's religious prestige.

The correlation between the notion of the primitive and religious ideology is further evidenced in Thespiai, where Pausanias reports: "Of the gods the Thespians have from the beginning honoured Love most, and they have a very ancient image of him, an unwrought stone. Who established among the Thespians the custom of worshipping Love more than any other god I do not know. He is worshipped equally by the people of Parion on the Hellespont, who were originally colonists from Erythrai in Ionia, but today are subject to the Romans".[68] Pausanias draws a connection between the unique status and great antiquity of the Thespian cult of Eros and the nature of the object around which it centres. The unhewn stone is the very ancient image (*agalma*) of the god who is said to be the most revered divinity in Thespiai. Here, the crudeness of the stone not only confirms the antiquity of the cult, but also amplifies and promulgates the superior status of Eros and his cult in Thespiai.[69] Notably, here the stone is said to be an *agalma*, a broad term, which is commonly translated as "image", as we saw for example in the description of Achaian Pharai (7.22.4).[70] In the context of the Thespian cult, the unhewn stone that constitutes a type of *agalma* has a role and value similar to those of a figural image.[71]

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[64] Paus. 3.22.1: Γυϑίου δὲ τϱεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀϱγὸς λίϑος. Ὀϱέστην λέγουσι ϰαϑεσϑέντα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παύσασϑαι τῆς μανίας, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίϑος ὠνομάσϑη Ζεὺς Καππώτας ϰατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωϱίδα.

[65] See the discussion in Malkin 1994, 28–32 on the significance of the transfer of Orestes' bones to the Spartan agora around 560 BCE.

[66] According to Chantraine 1968 s.v. *Kappotas* is a form of *kata-potas*, the equivalent of "fallen down".

[67] A primary example is Herodotos, see Thomas 2000, 274–282.

A similar correlation between great reverence and great antiquity is noted in Pausanias' account of the status of Athena Polias in Athens: "Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena, for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honour. But the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the Polis. A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven; whether this is true or not I shall not discuss."[72] Like the very ancient Thespian stone of the cult of Eros, in Athens, the most revered image of the patron goddess of the city, Athena, was allegedly venerated already in Athenian prehistory, before the unification of Attica. Pausanias refrains from describing Athena's ancient image but insists on recounting its supposed origins. The significance of Athens' most venerated object did not stem from the particularities of its form—whether aniconic or not, remains a matter of speculation[73]—, but from its religious role, which was heightened in the Athenian case by the stories regarding its heavenly origins. Like the Athena Polias, the Thespian stone formed the focal point of the most venerated divinity in its city. Both objects were associated with a very deep, indeed primitive past, had a unique religious prestige, no other cult object could have had. In Thespiai, aniconism's primitiveness declares a locally defined religious ideology.[74]

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[68] Paus. 9.27.1: θεῶν δὲ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τιμῶσιν Ἔρωτα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καί σφισιν ἄγαλμα παλαιότατόν ἐστιν ἀργὸς λίθος. Ὅστις δὲ ὁ καταστησάμενος Θεσπιεῦσιν Ἔρωτα θεῶν σέβεσθαι μάλιστα, οὐκ οἶδα. σέβονται δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον καὶ Ἑλλησποντίων Παριανοί, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἀπῳκισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τελοῦντες ἐς Ῥωμαίους.

[69] For further discussion of Pausanias' description of the Thespian cult, see Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 284–287.

[70] Generally, the term *agalma* could have a broad range of meanings—*e.g.* ornament, dedication, cult statue—, which were not necessarily mutually exclusive. See earlier discussion in Bloesch 1943; and more recently Scheer 2000, 8–18 and Keesling 2003, 10.

[71] Similarly Gordon 1979, 12 who notes the coexistence of the aniconic and the iconic in Classical antiquity.

[72] Paus. 1.26.6: ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἥ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ – καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ –, τὸ δὲ ἁγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν

Altogether, the notion of the primitive, which is associated with Pausanias' unwrought stones evokes far more than a primeval past. Depending on the case, the aniconic gains further specificity: in Achaian Pharai, it signifies the survival of Greek primitive customs under Roman rule; in Thebes it proclaims the authenticity of a remembered heroic mythological past; in Gytheion, it asserts not only the presence of a native hero, but the alleged manifestation of divine presence at a local cult site; and in Thespiai, it amplifies the superiority of the cult of Eros. Through the association of object with a myth, the act of naming, and deployment in ritual, aniconic monuments affirm the survival of a very deep past, attest an indigenous history, and proclaim religious ideology.

Pausanias is indeed the richest ancient source on Greek aniconism. However, among the myriads of figural and semi-figural monuments that he describes, non-figural *stelai* and stones constitute a minority. This relative scarcity is no need to undermine the unique role of the aniconic in Pausanias' landscape. In his second-century CE Greece, adherence to primitive customs of aniconic worship is a testament of a highly esteemed and locally defined religious prestige.

ἔτεσιν ⟨ἢ⟩ συνῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένῃ πόλει. Φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει.

[73] On the statue of Athena Polias and its enigmatic appearance, see *e.g.*, Herington 1955; Kroll 1982; Mansfield 1985, 135–188; Romano 1980, 42–57.

[74] For further discussion of religion and local politics in Pausanias' *Periegesis*, see Frateantonio 2009.

Clement of Alexandria—Aniconism as primitive abhorrence

Finally, let us consider Clement of Alexandria's portrayal of stone worship and aniconism in his history of image worship:

> If in addition to this, I bring the statues themselves and place them by your side for inspection, you will find on going through them that custom is truly nonsense, when it leads you to adore senseless things, the works of men's hands. In ancient times, then, the Scythians used to worship the dagger, the Arabians their stone, the Persians their river. Other peoples still more ancient erected wooden poles and set up pillars of stones, to which they gave the name *xoana*, meaning scraped objects, because the rough surface of the material had been scraped off. Certainly the statue of Artemis in Ikaros was a piece of unwrought timber, and that of Kithaeronian Hera in Thespiae was a felled tree-trunk. The statue of Samian Hera, as Aethlius says, was at first a wooden beam, but afterwards, when Procles was a ruler it was made in to human form. When these rude images began to be shaped to the likeness of men, they acquired the additional name *brete*, from *brotoi* meaning mortals. In Rome of old time according to Varro, the prose writer, the object that represented Ares was a spear, since craftsmen had not yet entered upon the fair seeming but mischievous art of sculpture, but the moment art flourished error increased.[75]

As it is made clear in the opening sentence of the passage, Clement's history of pagan idolatry is written at the service of an anti-idolatrous Christian polemic.[76] It begins with the description of foreign cult practices, where we find Arabians' ancient stone listed as one of the examples of foreign objects of worship. Here, litholatry is implicitly presented as primitive both in a temporal and in a cultural sense; it is placed in great antiquity, and associated with the nomadic and less advanced Arabians, whose reputation as stone worshippers was particularly strong in the Roman period.[77]

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[75] Clem. Al. *protr*. 4.40: Εἰ δ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις φέρων ὑμῖν τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὰ ἐπισκοπεῖν παραθείην, ἐπιόντες ὡς ἀληθῶς λῆρον εὑρήσετε τὴν συνήθειαν, "ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων" ἀναίσθητα προστρεπόμενοι. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἀκινάκην, οἱ Ἄραβες τὸν λίθον, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι ξύλα ἱδρύοντο περιφανῆ καὶ κίονας ἵστων ἐκ λίθων· ἃ δὴ καὶ ξόανα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τῆς ὕλης. Ἀμέλει ἐν Ἰκάρῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα ξύλον ἦν οὐκ εἰργασμένον, καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον· καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἥρας, ὥς φησιν Ἀέθλιος, πρότερον μὲν ἦν σανίς, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνδριαντοειδὲς ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικονίζεσθαι τὰ ξόανα ἤρξατο, βρέτη τὴν ἐκ βροτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκαρπώσατο. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν δόρυ φησὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἄρεως τὸ ξόανον Οὐάρρων ὁ συγγραφεύς, οὐδέπω τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐπρόσωπον ταύτην κακοτεχνίαν ὡρμη κότων. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤνθησεν ἡ τέχνη, ηὔξησεν ἡ πλάνη (Translation G.W. Butterworth).

[76] On Clement's anti-idolatrous agenda, see Finney 1994, 43–44.

In the next section, Clement moves on to note that other peoples in even greater antiquity worshipped pillars, poles, and stones. In this part of the account he introduces the notion of evolution in two ways. First, he mentions names of cult objects and their etymologies that are suggestive of two stages in the development of sculpture; the term *xoana*, whose alleged etymology indicates the initial transformation of a rough object, and the word *brotoi* (mortals), the supposed origins of *brete*, implies the emergence of a more developed stage of life-like statues.[78] Second, Clement lists examples of well-known Graeco-Roman statues that were originally wooden beams or the like. Within this scheme, the aniconic is the primal stage of image worship, at the very beginning of the development of artistic representation of the divine.

The evolutionary scheme is introduced here purposefully in order to reveal trickery of art at the service of Clement's attack on the adoration of statues, his prime target.[79] While art is deceptive, the closing comment that its success brought the flourishing of error reveals the degree to which Clement acknowledges the powers of artistic representation. Art is credited with the ability to deceive and hide the true material nature of artefacts. The implications of this iconoclastic account are that the worship of anthropomorphic statues can be explained as the result of artistic deception. This sophisticated sham of life-like statues takes place in the world of the culturally progressed Greeks and Romans and is not attributed to the barbarians. By contrast, the adoration of stones and poles cannot be rationalised as the consequence of sophisticated deception. Aniconism takes place in the areas with the least cultural progress; it is inevitably a sign of a fundamentally erroneous understanding.

Clement's portrayal of aniconism resembles fourth-century BCE views of stone worshipper in so far as in both such practices are the upshot of some basic lack of comprehension of the world. Nonetheless, there is a fundamental difference between the Christian iconoclast and the pagan writers. Theophrastos and Xenophon present litholatry as the product of overzealous fear of the divine that despite its absurdity is the result of exaggerated piety. For Clement on the other hand, aniconism is essentially a great error with respect to God, which cannot be attributed to the mischievousness of artistic skill. For this early adherent to Christianity, the worship of stones and logs is not harmlessly naïve or irrational; it is a transgression of basic theological ethics.

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[77] On the association between aniconism and the Near East, particularly during the Roman period, see Gaifman 2008 with further bibliography.

[78] For a discussion of the terms *xoanon* and *bretas* and their possible etymology, see Donohue 1988.

[79] As noted in Donohue 1988, 201–205.

Clement's evolutionary account is referenced in Winckelmann's description of the earliest stages of Greek art with which I began.[80] We have come full circle. Whereas Winckelmann was well-grounded in Classical literature and relied on a wide range of pagan and Christian sources, Clement's brief history of idolatry had a particular appeal for Winckelmann's grand *Kunstgeschichte*; it provided a well-documented holistic trajectory of the early development of Greek art. The passage cited here is not simply a series of descriptions of sites, statues and artists. Rather, it provides a framework of a progressive development, supported by etymological explanations of ancient nomenclature for statuary and examples that agree with other ancient sources. Indeed, Clement's statements regarding the great antiquity of aniconism appear, at least on the surface, to cohere with Pausanias' descriptions of Greek *argoi lithoi*. It is no great surprise that Winckelmann's reconstruction of the early stages of Greek art resonates with this early Christian evolutionary model.

Clement had a marked influence on Winckelmann's reconstruction of the early development of Greek art. He is nonetheless the exception among all the ancient sources discussed here; not only as an outsider to paganism, but also in his explicit polemical stance. From among pagan authors, the worship of stones and rough blocks signalled a form of primitiveness that was either harmlessly absurd or highly esteemed. It is the Early Christian lens, which portrays aniconism not merely as absurd, but as the marginal opposite of cultural progress or primitive in a derogatory sense, that had a great impact on the predominant modern perception of the phenomenon. J.Z. Smith's point that Christianity and the Catholic-Protestant divide affected to a large extent the modern study of ancient religions of Late Antiquity pertains to the question of Greek aniconism and its primitiveness as well.[81] Protestantism in particular was centr al to the formation of the modern idea of the primitive.[82] Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was also inherent to the breeding ground of some of the notable scholars engaged with the question of Greek aniconism.[83] Ancient pagan voices call us to at least try and set aside our own preconceptions and reconsider our approach to aniconic monuments. These warnings from antiquity gain further support from contemporary scholarship: D. Doepner's recent study, for example, has convincingly demonstrated that for the Greeks of the West the veneration and dedication of non-figural pillars and stones was surely not primitive in a derogatory sense, but a meaningful religious act in its own right.[84] It is time to recognise Greek stones and *stelai* that marked the presence of the divine not as primitive fossils and aberrances from Greek naturalism, but as religiously meaningful, and as having a legitimate place within the broader context of Greek religious art.[85]

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[80] Winckelmann 2006, 112.

[81] Smith 1990.

[82] See *e.g.* Douglas 2002, 21–23 and Regard 2007.

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[83] I do not make the claim that the influential scholars I discussed here, Winckelmann, Overbeck, De Visser and Nilsson were professed adherents of Protestantism, or that their perception of Greek aniconism was conceived at the service of certain Christian beliefs. It is simply noteworthy that Protestantism was an intrinsic part of their surrounding culture and upbringing: Winckelmann was a student of theology in Halle although later on he converted to Catholicism; Overbeck studied in Bonn and then taught in Leipzig; De Visser studied in Leiden; and Nilsson was the rector of the University of Lund. Traces of Protestant influence are not always apparent in their works although it is noteworthy that De Visser quotes Luther in his initial opening discussion of stone worship, see De Visser 1903, 2. More remarkable is Nilsson who underscores the impact of Protestant and Puritan ideas on the field of Greek religion, see *e.g.* Nilsson 1961, 100, 104.

[84] Doepner 2002, esp. 186–187.

[85] Similarly, Donohue 1988, 227 states: "What seems clear even now is that aniconic practice should not be assumed to be a survival of an evolutionary stage of religion and that in any event it is independent of developments in art."

FINDING THE GODS
GREEK AND CYPRIOT VOTIVE KORAI REVISITED[*]

Catherine M. Keesling

What *are* Greek votive statues? We are far more accustomed to such a question being posed about cult statues or *Kultbilder*.[1] Perhaps the only way to define votive statues is to describe them. They were freestanding statues of marble or bronze dedicated in sanctuaries and, more often than not, inscribed with the name of a dedicator, singular or plural. Their inscriptions typically used the formula "X dedicated" (X ἀνέθηκε), with or without the name of the recipient deity in the dative. Some votive statues were inscribed with metrical epigrams resembling prayers from the dedicator to the deity.[2] A vow is occasionally explicit in the inscription, but in other cases it may be implied. Votive statues were occasional, in the sense that they were commissioned on some occasion in the life of the dedicator; yet relatively few votive inscriptions describe such occasions with any degree of specificity. Votive statues were *agalmata*, offerings meant to please the gods, yet their contexts distinguished them from divine cult images displayed on axis in the cellas of Greek temples, also called *agalmata*. Although smaller anthropomorphic figures and various other objects were offered to the gods as votives, votive statues were large enough to require support by a stone base and were often placed outdoors rather than inside temples or other cult buildings.[3]

Even such a straightforward description of Greek votive statues leaves questions unanswered, and perhaps these questions are unanswerable. Is the distinction between cult statues and votive statues purely a matter of context? How relevant are the ubiquitous, inexpensive terracotta figurines found in so many Greek sanctuaries to the interpretation of monumental votive statues?[4] As a religious and cultural phenomenon, Greek votive statues as I have just described them had a relatively short period of prominence in the Archaic and Classical periods. In the fourth century BCE, it became a common practice to set up portrait statues in Greek sanctuaries, and to inscribe them with a formula naming the subject the statue represented ("X dedicated Y"). By the late Hellenistic period, to judge from the epigraphic corpora, votive objects were still being dedicated and inscribed, but fewer of them were statues on bases: marble votive reliefs, votive altars, crowns, and phialai continued the practice of Greek votive religion in a different physical form.[5] The monumental votive statue had been marginalised by the honorific portrait, a development that W.H.D. Rouse, in his classic study of Greek votive offerings, read as no less than a sign of creeping moral decay in Greek culture: "the dedication of these is a departure from the simple thanksgiving of the older worshippers, which recognised only the divine help, to a feeling which soon degenerates into flattery or self-glorification".[6] Although Rouse's rhetoric seems hopelessly out of date, we still need to take into account not only the heyday of the Greek votive statue in the Archaic and Classical periods, but also its eventual decline.

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[*] I would like to thank the editor of this volume, Joannis Mylonopoulos, for inviting me to take part in the conference that inspired it. He and the other participants in the conference "Götterbilder Bilder für die Götter" in Erfurt in July 2007 have been very generous with their company and with their thoughts about divine images. I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Diana Buitron-Oliver, a friend who helped open my eyes to Cyprus and its sculpture.

[1] For thoughts on divine representation in freestanding Greek sculpture and the problematic distinction between cult statues and divine images dedicated as votives, see esp. Rodenwaldt 1943; Gordon 1979; Donohue 1997; Scheer 2000, 1–34.

[2] Lazzarini's (Lazzarini 1976) catalogue of Archaic votive inscriptions remains the most comprehensive collection of examples.

[3] For a welcome reminder that not all monumental dedications were located in sanctuaries, see Parker 2004a, 271: prominent among the exceptions are herms.

Simply describing where and when Greek votive statues were set up does not really explain what they are. We need to consider whom or what these statues represented. In his classic discussion entitled "Gott oder Mensch", F. Brommer offered the following *Faustregel* (rule of thumb): in the Archaic period, most votive statues represented human subjects, but in the Classical period the situation reversed itself, and most represented gods.[7] There is no need to dwell here on the obvious exceptions to this rule, which Brommer never intended to be absolute.[8] Instead, it seems worth mentioning the epigraphic implications. The statue base inscribed with the votive formula provides a frame within which the votive statue was viewed. Although dedications in the form of metrical epigrams were most common in the Archaic period, the essential elements of both the metrical and the non-metrical texts remained consistent over a large expanse of time, from the Archaic period through the Roman period. Since the formulas of votive inscriptions did not undergo a significant change at the same time that the style of Greek sculpture changed from Archaic to Classical, in order to accept Brommer's rule of thumb we must suppose that identical votive inscriptions in Greek framed one primary generic expectation in their readers before 480 BCE (human representation) and another one afterward (divine representation). To put the question raised by votive inscriptions differently, at what point did the reader of a votive statue inscription begin to expect to see a god, and why?

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[4] For the problem of identifying and interpreting terracotta figurines, see most recently Hamilton *et al.* 1996 (prehistoric figurines); Dewailly 2001 (sanctuary of Apollon at Claros); Lippolis 2001.

[5] For votive reliefs, see Comella 2002a; for Greek votive offerings of the Roman period, see Schörner 2003.

[6] Rouse 1902, 269.

[7] Brommer 1986, 53. *Cf.* Boardman *et al.* 2004, 283: "Offering to a deity a statue of himself is somewhat less common than might be supposed".

[8] One Classical example that demonstrates the seriousness of the identity problem is the under-lifesize marble figure of a man dedicated by Lysikleides, son of Epandrides,

Brommer's distinction between Archaic and Classical votive statues finds its principal justification in the Archaic marble statue types dedicated in Greek sanctuaries, the male kouros and the female kore, of which most extant examples do not appear from their iconography to represent gods or goddesses. In the second section of this paper, I would like to respond to the present state of scholarship on a familiar group of Archaic votive statues, the marble korai from the Athenian Acropolis. The numerous Archaic statues and inscribed bases from the Athenian Acropolis constitute the largest preserved assemblage of Greek votive statues. Although the female Acropolis korai were only one type of monumental votive offering prevalent in the sanctuary in the Archaic period, and although votive statues continued to be dedicated there after the end of the Acropolis korai series in *ca.* 480 BCE, the standard classification of Greek sculpture according to material and statue type has tended to isolate the korai, which are most often treated as a distinct and distinctive phenomenon in the history of both sculpture and religion. In contrast to trends in recent scholarship on Archaic Greek sculpture, I will argue that the Acropolis korai of the Archaic period are unlikely to have represented real women, and that the prevailing view that they represented generic, anonymous votaries rests on somewhat shaky foundations.

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in the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous. The votive formula inscribed on the statue's pillar base (*IG* I^3 1021, *ca.* 425–410 BCE) leaves it unclear whom the statue was meant to represent: Lysikleides himself (van Straten 1992, 249)? A local hero (Palagia 1994, 118) perhaps, or even a god? Not knowing the statue's identity, we are able to approach it as a work of sculpture, but lack information crucial to understanding its significance as a commemorative monument.

Any reconsideration of the essential meaning of Archaic Greek votive statues must attempt to explain how and why the tradition of dedicating marble figures of the kouros and kore types in Greek sanctuaries such as the Athenian Acropolis came to such an abrupt end in about 480 BCE. The search for an answer to this question has often led in two different directions. One is to consider the distribution and significance of Greek sculpture in an archaistic style, found in various parts of the Greek world in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. The second path leads to Cyprus, where limestone kouroi and korai in an Archaic style continued to be dedicated in sanctuaries from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods. Cypriot korai in limestone, as it turns out, have often been cited as lingering parallels for a votive practice that had died out in the Greek world at the end of the Archaic period, namely the dedication of female perpetual votaries to goddesses in their sanctuaries. In the third section of this paper, the widespread notion that the Cypriot korai support the interpretation of the Acropolis korai as generic, anonymous votaries rather than representations of goddesses will be called into question.

The Acropolis korai

The central problem posed by the kore type in Archaic Greek sculpture (*fig. 27*) can be neatly encapsulated by a table that aims to summarize the full spectrum of interpretations of these statues current in modern scholarship (*table 1*). At the human end of the spectrum, the view that the Acropolis korai represented human portrait subjects has been stated most emphatically in recent years by M. Stieber, who believes that the korai represented Athenian women as real individuals, lacking only inscribed name labels to identify them to us. Better represented in recent scholarship is the idea that most of the korai represent girls and young women who served the cult of Athena on the Acropolis in some capacity, either temporary or permanent: *arrhephoroi*, *kanephoroi*, and the like. At the opposite, divine, end of the spectrum, fall B. Ridgway's and my own arguments that most of the Acropolis korai were intended to represent the goddess Athena herself. By far the majority of interpretations since the discovery of most of the korai in the 1880s have occupied a middle ground, in which the korai are understood as purposely anonymous or generalised female companions, or as perpetual votaries, designed to please the recipient goddess Athena. There is a grave risk of obliterating the finer nuances of these interpretations by presenting them in the form of a table. The central section of *table 1* in particular could be far longer than it is; if we dipped into analogous interpretations of male kouros statues, we would find still more evocative language to apply to the korai, such as J. Pedley's characterization of them as "typological companions" of the divinity, A. Stewart's kouros as a figure whose outward physical form constitutes his essential meaning, or D. Steuernagel's kouroi as "gute Staatsbürger".[9]

Table 1: Interpretations of the Acropolis korai

HUMAN ICONOGRAPHY	THEORY	DIVINE CONTEXT
Sacerdotal personnel: *arrhephoroi*, *kanephoroi* (Turner 1983, 392–395; Brulé 1987, 248; Shapiro 2001, 93–94)	Generic, anonymous companion of female deity (Lechat 1903, 276–277; Dickins 1912, 33; Payne 1950, 9–10)	Athena and other goddesses (Rouse 1902, 90 and 306–307; Ridgway 1990, 608–612; Ridgway 1993, 147–149; Keesling 2003, 97–161)
Aristocratic *parthenoi* in sacred service (Karakasi 2003, 135–139)	*Pais kale* in service of goddess (Richter 1968, 4)	Nymphs or lesser deities (Ridgway 1982, 126–127)
Proto-portraits of Athenian women (Stieber 2004)	Unnamed aristocratic *parthenos* as *agalma* (Schneider 1975; Schneider and Höcker 1990, 88–95)	Nymphs or daughters of Athenian kings (Harrison 1988, 54)
Female cult agents, *kanephoroi* (Connelly 2007, 127–129)	Companion or servant of the goddess (Robertson 1985, 169)	
	Perpetual votary, *parthenos* as votary (Barber 1990; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 241–252)	
	Generic, anonymous figure of good omen and symbol of prosperity (Holloway 1992, 268)	
	Unnamed aristocratic *parthenos* as commodity (Osborne 1994, 90–95; Osborne 2004)	
	Handmaiden of goddess (Salomon 1997, 201)	
CLASSICAL PORTRAITS		CLASSICAL DIVINE IMAGES

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[9] Pedley 1978, 57; Stewart 1986; Steuernagel 1991.

All three classes of responses outlined in *table 1* respond to the same set of data, but they go about it in different ways. All interpretations of the Acropolis korai face the problem of having to account for iconography that seems not to fit the interpretation offered. The question that continues to plague the study of the korai is: how much of the iconographic variation we see is meaningful variation? As hard as we try, we can never really be sure which attributes of the Acropolis korai are true signifiers of identity and which are not. Provocative recent publications on aspects of Greek women's costume bring into focus further iconographic questions not yet assimilated into debates about the identities of Archaic kore statues: why do the great majority of the Acropolis korai wear the garments we normally call the *chiton* and *himation* rather than the one we call the *peplos*? And why does only one of the Acropolis korai (the so-called Propylaia kore, Acr. 688) wear a veil comparable to the ones worn by their Samian and Milesian counterparts?[10] Identifications of the Acropolis korai as real women or girls begin from iconography and then try to match the outstanding iconographic features visible to the modern observer with a cultic context attested by literary or epigraphic sources. Although few have accepted Stieber's interpretation of the korai as proto-portraits of individual girls or young women, her approach seems like the logical end-point of an analysis driven by iconography: when we look closely enough at the Acropolis korai, we see that they all look different, and if all of the iconography signifies, then all should represent different subjects. The divine interpretations do just the opposite, beginning with the cultic context and then trying to find iconographic elements of the statues to support a reading driven by context; in this process the secondary, iconographic step will not always be convincing because it requires accepting that not all representations of the same divine subject share the same iconographic signifiers and that some—even the majority—lack any truly signifying iconography at all. The way in the middle mediates between iconography and context to arrive at a theoretical construct giving some weight to both, which may explain why interpretations in the middle have been the most popular solution to date.

In the face of insoluble problems of iconography and identification, I would like to present here two brief case studies, inspired by recent scholarship on Archaic marble sculpture, to probe further the feasibility of a more satisfying contextual approach to the Acropolis korai. Although neither case study can prove that the Acropolis korai are divine images, both will contribute in different ways toward rejecting a human interpretation for them. The first alternative is to consider patterns presented by Archaic marble statues found recently in another sanctuary, that of Apollon at Claros. Excavations in the 1990s by a French team at Claros have not only produced new Archaic statues, but also brought about a better understanding of old finds.[11] We now know that, in the second quarter of the sixth century BCE, a priest named Timonax dedicated a kouros to Apollon[12] and a kore to Artemis[13] in the sanctuary. As the inscriptions on the statues show, Timonax dedicated them to commemorate his service as priest of Apollon and priest of Artemis, respectively. After serving as priest of Apollon, he dedicated a kouros, and after serving as priest of Artemis, he dedicated a kore. Both the kouros and the kore are "typical" examples, in that the kouros keeps both arms down at his sides, empty-handed, and the kore puts her left arm up to her chest, perhaps to hold a lost object in her hand.[14] Why would the priest Timonax in the first half of the sixth century BCE have considered it appropriate to give a kore to Artemis and a kouros to Apollon? Here we are not faced with a preponderance of korai as we are on the Athenian Acropolis, but with a one-to-one correspondence between Timonax's services as a priest and his votive statues. In this case, it seems to me the most intuitive answer is that the kouros and the kore were intended to represent their recipient deities.

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[10] For the *peplos*, see Lee 2005; for discussion of the Acropolis korai within the context of the evidence for veiling among ancient Greek women, see Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 46–49 and 92–93.

This interpretation, however, does not account for the other two well-preserved Archaic statues found in the same sanctuary: both are kouroi holding offerings, one of them a *moschophoros*.[15] The dedication inscribed on the calf, only partially preserved, informs us that an unknown individual dedicated the kouros as a "memorial of his own" (μνῆμα ὧν αὐτοῦ).[16] Though it is difficult for the modern observer to understand such an offering-bearer as something other than an anonymous votary—a generic human figure functioning almost as a signpost for the message conveyed by the inscription—the ancient observer Pausanias identified two votive statues of the offering-bearer type that he saw in his travels as Biton (in Argos) and Hermes (in Tanagra).[17] The modern reluctance to identify male figures holding a sacrificial victim as divine images, though based upon sound reasoning, does not quite answer the objection that examples of the same sculptural type clearly could have been interpreted as representations of different subjects, depending upon context. In the sanctuary of Apollon at Claros, we may be seeing the standard Archaic sculptural types, at the same time and within the same context but with differences in their iconography, being used to represent divine subjects, generic subjects, or a combination of divine (Apollon and Artemis) and generic (*moschophoroi*). It seems far less likely, on the other hand, that the kore, the kouros, or the *moschophoroi* represented human subjects.

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[11] See Holtzmann 1993; Lejeune – Dubois 1998 (inscriptions); Dewailly – Pécasse – Verger 2004.

[12] *SEG* 48, 1408.

[13] *SEG* 48, 1407.

[14] For the kouros and kore dedicated by Timonax, see Dewailly – Pécasse – Verger 2004, 47–55 no. 5 and 25–35 no. 2.

[15] Dewailly – Pécasse – Verger 2004, 35–41 no. 3 and 41–47 no. 4.

[16] *SEG* 48, 1406.

The second alternative to looking at the Acropolis korai in isolation is to consider larger patterns in the commemoration of women in Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods. In a recent article building on earlier observations, R. Osborne had the following to say about sculptural representations of women in Archaic Athens: “Women had a major place in the symbolization of relations between humanity and the gods in Archaic Athens, but virtually no place at all in the symbolic language in which the loss of human life was marked”.[18] The point Osborne goes on to make is that the Classical grave *stelai* from Athens, which represent women with much greater frequency than the Archaic funerary monuments had done, must reflect some change in Athenian thinking about the status of citizen women in the Classical period. In contrast to funerary monuments that commemorated real individuals, both male and female, Osborne sees votive statues as a form of exchange with the gods in which images of women were the preferred currency. Thus, he holds that women were “represented” in a totally different sense by grave monuments than they are by the Acropolis korai, rejecting the notion that the votive korai represented real individuals in the same way that a kore set up over a grave did.

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[17] Paus. 2.19.4 (Biton carrying a bull on his shoulders in the sanctuary of Apollon Lykeios in the agora of Argos) and 9.22.2 (Hermes carrying a ram on his shoulders, made by Kalamis, in the sanctuary of Hermes at Tanagra). Kritzas 1996–1997 relates the former statue to the practice of “bull-lifting”, in which young men carried a bull to sacrifice on their shoulders. For a modern interpretation of the offering-bearer type in Greek sculpture critical of divine identifications rather than generic or human ones, see Lebessi 1989.

[18] Osborne 2004, 45.

What Osborne says about funerary monuments seems valid, but at the same time he has elided an important distinction between votive statues and the Attic funerary *stelai* of the Classical period brought out by inscriptions. When we look primarily at inscriptions, we see that Athenian attitudes toward the public commemoration of individual women did not necessarily undergo a significant change from the Archaic period to the Classical. S. Humphreys, in a classic study of familial representation in Attic funerary monuments, noted that both the inscriptions and the funerary sculptures of Archaic Athens commemorated men about 6.5 times as often as women, meaning that women were named or represented on only about 15 % of the known monuments.[19] The kore for Phrasikleia and her accompanying epigram constitute a striking and memorable example of Archaic female funerary commemoration in the Attic context, but such monuments were far from typical. Although women began to be represented more frequently than men on the Attic grave *stelai* of the Classical period, men were still at least twice as likely to have their names inscribed on funerary monuments (sculptural and non-sculptural alike) than were women.[20] Thus, while the representation of women by funerary sculpture became far more common in the Classical period than it had been in the Archaic, commemorative inscriptions on funerary monuments continued to be far less likely for women than they were for men. It appears that the widespread sculptural representation of women on Classical funerary *stelai* is the real anomaly that requires explanation.[21]

On the Athenian Acropolis, where marble korai were a common type of monumental votive offering in the Archaic period, real women are underrepresented by votive inscriptions with remarkable consistency throughout the Archaic and Classical periods: only about 10 or 15 % of the dedicators of votive statues in the Archaic and Classical periods were women.[22] This percentage is identical to the percentage of Archaic funerary monuments for women in Athens and Attica. When the practice of honorific portraiture in sanctuaries emerged in the fourth century BCE, it was clearly not centred on women—quite the opposite, in fact: only about 10 to 15 % of the honorific portrait statues of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods seem to have represented female subjects, judging from the evidence of inscribed statue bases included in *IG* II^2. Women and girls did not become more frequent portrait subjects on the Athenian Acropolis until late in the Hellenistic period. Although the chronological gap between the Archaic korai and the honorific portraits of *kanephoroi*, *arrhephoroi*, and other female subjects that proliferated in the second century BCE has often been elided, the epigraphic evidence makes it difficult to posit continuity in the sculptural representation of women in the sanctuary. We would be hard pressed to conclude from the statistics for the public commemoration of women through inscriptions that the Archaic korai on the Acropolis represented real women or girls, whether or not these women served in the cult of Athena.

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[19] Humphreys 1993, 126 n. 18.

[20] Humphreys 1993, 111 (fourth century BCE only); for similar statistics covering the entire period from *ca.* 400 BCE to 250 CE, see Nielsen *et al.* 1989, 411.

[21] For further thoughts on the representation of women on Classical Attic tomb monuments, see Stears 1995. The grouping together of inscribed Classical *stelai* in *periboloi* further complicates their interpretation as commemorative monuments, as noted recently by Closterman 2007, 642: "When used in a peribolos tomb … funerary stelae are not discrete units but are interrelated and are meant to be read in association with the other funerary markers. They do not simply present a series of independent memorials for people from the same family but operate as pieces of a larger whole". New *stelai* were added to *periboloi* over time, and new names were added to preexisting stelai (Bergemann 1997, 25–28).

Even if the Acropolis korai should not be interpreted as human representations, we are still left with two viable options: generic and divine. Not even new discoveries can provide a definitive answer. Most interpretations of the Acropolis korai in the centre column of my *table 1* implicitly require us to accept that Archaic marble sculpture is fundamentally different; that it represents a distinct and distinctive custom within the larger votive tradition, leading to no significant successor in the Classical period. This "Archaic exceptionalism" sees an essential change in meaning between Archaic and Classical votive statues, and accepts that Archaic votive statues in marble constitute a historical exception to the development of Greek portraiture and divine representation across various artistic media. This claim of an exceptional status for Archaic Greek votive statues in marble has been acknowledged, but seldom challenged outright; most scholars would say, I think, that this view is justified by the exceptional appearance of the Acropolis korai. I would counter that there is a danger of fetishising Archaic marble sculpture precisely because it looks so different from the sculpture of the Classical period. We need to look beyond Archaic Greece in order to view the problem of what kind of subjects votive statues were intended to represent more clearly. We need to locate a viable external parallel for the interpretation of the korai as generic, anonymous, perpetual votaries on the Athenian Acropolis if we are to justify it.

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[22] Similar percentages of female dedicators obtain for both the Acropolis and the Athenian Asklepieion on the south slope in the Classical and Hellenistic periods: for the Asklepieion, see Aleshire 1989, 52–71 (updated by Aleshire 1992).

Cypriot korai

Cypriot votive sculpture in limestone has been cited with some frequency as a parallel for the dedication of generic, anonymous votary figures in Greek sanctuaries in the Archaic period.[23] What seems peculiar to Cyprus is the continuing dedication of both female and male figures in a lingering Archaic style well into the fourth century BCE. What is more, on Cyprus the standardised iconographies of the various Greek gods that we see in Greek sculpture already in the late Archaic make their appearance very late, generally not until the Hellenistic period.[24] Thus the Cypriot votive statue tradition seems to offer continuities of style and subject matter lacking in Greek votive sculpture. The prevailing approach to Cypriot votive statues can best be summed up by a quotation from J. Connelly's 1988 book on Hellenistic votive sculpture in limestone from Cyprus: "The persistence of the generic votary into the Hellenistic period is unique to Cyprus, attesting to a strong religious conservatism. Long after the generic votary had been discontinued by the Greek world, these descendants of the kouroi and korai continued to be dedicated at the age-old Cypriot shrines. The longevity of this ancient practice may reflect the importance to the Cypriot of having himself continually represented before the divinity. This attitude may have come early to Cyprus from the Near East, becoming part of the Cypriot votive tradition, a custom that endured despite influences from the growing Hellenistic *koine*".[25] More recently, W. Childs has even suggested that the Greeks derived their practice of dedicating votive statues in sanctuaries directly from Cyprus.[26] In the late seventh and the first half of the sixth centuries BCE, terracotta and limestone statuettes of Cypriot type were dedicated in large numbers in the Samian Heraion and other East Greek sanctuaries, a fact that seems to support Childs's hypothesis.[27]

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[23] *e.g.* by Lechat 1903, 272–273; Yon 1974, 144–145; Connelly, 1988 3–5; Connelly 1989. For Cypriot votive statues in general, see also the invaluable article by Counts 2001 and studies by Vermeule 1974; Gaber-Saletan 1986; Hermary 1989; Reyes 1994, 35–39 and 136–137; Icard-Gianolio 2004.

[24] For an exception to this rule, see Counts – Toumazou 2003 (a possible fifth century BCE Artemis from Athienou-Malloura).

[25] Connelly 1988, 111. For earlier expressions of this view, with explicit comparison to Archaic Greek marble sculpture, see Myres 1914 and Pryce 1931, 5: "The meaning of the votive statues, of which many thousands have been recorded, is clear as far as Cyprus is concerned. They do not represent the deity to whom they are dedicated, and when a figure of a god or goddess is taken as a model, it is quickly humanised; but neither do they

The Cypriot limestone korai pose the same problem of the relationship between iconography and identity as the Archaic Greek korai in marble. They closely resemble their Greek counterparts in dress and pose, but with more elaborate jewellery and headgear. The objects they hold in their hands include the fruit, birds, and flowers familiar from Archaic Greek sculpture, but also bulls and other sacrificial animals.[28] Although the chronology of Cypriot limestone sculpture continues to be debated, in general Cypriot korai of the mid-sixth century BCE most resemble their Samian and East Greek counterparts, while by the fifth century BCE the stylistic inspiration tended to be Athenian.[29] At least one scientifically excavated Cypriot sanctuary, the one at Salamis published by M. Yon, has produced a clear majority of female votive statues: 132 compared to 9 male figures, all Archaic in date.[30] The relative percentage of korai compared to kouroi on the Athenian Acropolis is similarly lopsided. No women are known from inscriptions to have dedicated korai on the Acropolis. In contrast to the abundance of evidence from the Acropolis, the number of preserved statue bases and votive inscriptions from Cyprus remains pitifully small; but in the standard epigraphic corpora, I cannot find any female dedicators of statues at all until the third century BCE, while there is at least one good example of a female kore dedicated by a man to the Cypriot Great Goddess, later assimilated to the Greek Aphrodite.[31]

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represent the donor or an individual votary. They depict rather the ideal worshipper, the person whose enduring presence in the sanctuary would gratify the divine vanity ..."

[26] Childs 2001.

[27] For the Cypriot limestone statues found in the Samian Heraion, which include 38 male figures and 26 female ones, see Schmidt 1968, 54–67 and 99–103 and Kyrieleis 1989; for Delos, see Fourrier 1999.

[28] For a general description and illustrated examples of the Cypriot kore type, see Yon 1974, 27–94 and 105–137. Iconographic ambiguity: Counts 2001, 162.

[29] Raptou 1999, 63–65; Counts 2001, 148–149.

[30] For these numbers, see Yon 1974, 13. All of the votive statues in the Salamis sanctuary were found broken and decapitated in a pit like many of the Acropolis korai, but at Salamis their burial can be attributed to a renovation of the sanctuary rather than destruction.

[31] For Cypriot votive inscriptions on sculpture, see Masson 1961; for Hellenistic and Roman honorific inscriptions, see Mitford 1961. For the underrepresentation of

Yet, despite the apparent similarities between the Cypriot practice of dedicating korai and what we see on the Acropolis, things are not always as they seem. A. Ulbrich has recently made an important contribution by pinpointing the origin of the idea that Cypriot kore statues represent perpetual votaries of the Great Goddess. As it turns out, M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the 1890s was inspired by the sensational discovery of pits full of kore statues on the Athenian Acropolis, and he used these to arrive at a more systematic explanation for the bewildering mass of votive statues then coming out of Cypriot sites (*fig. 28*).[32] In the initial excavations of the 1860s and 1870s by R. Hamilton Lang and L. Palma di Cesnola, limestone statues were collected from multiple locations, sometimes without strict regard for their find spots. At Idalion, where Ohnefalsch-Richter posited sanctuaries of both the male Cypriot god later assimilated to Apollon and the Great Goddess, there may only have been the sanctuary of a male god with a large number of male figures and a few female ones mixed in; at Golgoi, on the other hand, it seems more likely that there were sanctuaries of both the Great Goddess and a male god, but we have no precise way of knowing which of the extant votive statues came from which sanctuary.[33] Ohnefalsch-Richter's breakthrough was to assign female votive statues to the Goddess and male votive statues to the god, thus propagating the assumption that the Cypriot gods (like their Greek counterparts) preferred to receive same-sex votary statues, just as the Greek gods tended to receive same-sex sacrificial victims.[34]

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women in Cypriot votive, funerary, and honorific inscriptions, see Bazemore 2002. *Kore* dedicated by a man: Masson 1961, no. 315. *Cf.* the so-called priest with a dove from Golgoi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Masson 1961, no. 262), now believed to be a kore incorrectly restored by Cesnola as a male figure (Masson – Hermary 1993): inscribed on the shoulder is a dedication to Aphrodite (τᾶς Παφίας). For a third century BCE dedication of a statue of unknown type to Aphrodite at Arsos by a woman named Onasion, see Nicolaou 1971, 19 and pl. XIXa; Mitford 1961, no. 36 is a Hellenistic honorific portrait of a man dedicated to Aphrodite. For an inscribed Cypriot limestone statuette found at Lindos and possibly representing a victorious athlete, see *SEG* 52, 766B.

[32] See Ulbrich 2001, 95–100 and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 322–323.

[33] For Idalion, see Gaber-Saletan 1986; Connelly 1988, 61–62; Hermary 1998a; Senff 1993. For Golgoi, see Vermeule 1974 and Connelly 1988, 75–78. For Lefkoniko, another possible sanctuary of Apollon with a predominance of male votive statues and a few korai, see Myres 1940–1945, 61–68. For a useful catalogue of Cypriot sanctuary sites and the evidence for the deities to whom they were dedicated, see al-Radi 1983, 64–100. Hermary 1998b, 266 postulates that most urban sanctuaries in Cyprus were dedicated to the Great Goddess, and most rural ones to the male god.

[34] For examples of the assumption that Cypriot votive statues match the gender of the recipient deity, see Connelly 1988, 5 and 78–79, and Serwint 1991 (terracottas from

Even today, the deities worshipped at many Cypriot sanctuaries remain unknown due to a lack of epigraphic evidence, but guesses are made based upon the sculptural types and the gender distribution of the votive statues and statuettes found there—a flawed proposition, given that the standard iconography for the Greek pantheon did not arrive in Cyprus until a very late date.[35]

The assumption that the discovery of large numbers of korai means that a goddess was worshipped seems to work well enough for Yon's sanctuary at Salamis mentioned above, but the inverse—namely, that finding large numbers of male figures means that the sanctuary belongs to a male god—remains open to greater doubt. Nude kouroi are rare at every sanctuary site on Cyprus; instead, nearly all Cypriot male figures are clothed and most are bearded as well, and they wear a variety of garments and headgear recalling Greek, Egyptian, and Near Eastern models.[36] It has been suggested that the iconographic diversity of the male votive statues corresponds with the different ethnic groups living on the island (Greeks, Phoenicians, and others), and that in addition, some iconographic elements indicate social status. Beginning in the fifth century BCE, statues of boys and adolescent males, differentiated by their size and clothing from the adults, were added to the mix.[37] At the so-called sanctuary of Apollon at Golgoi, excavated in the nineteenth century by Cesnola, over 750 limestone male figures were reportedly found *in situ*, grouped according to ethnic type.[38] All in all, it seems likely that the iconographically diverse male statues on Cyprus represented real votaries rather than a recipient deity. There is no *a priori* reason to suppose that such male votary figures were not equally appropriate as dedications to the female Great Goddess. How "anonymous" the male statues were intended to be is open to debate; it may be that contemporary observers understood them to be representations of their male dedicators, whose names were sometimes inscribed on them.

Polis / Marion). For the "rule" that the Greek gods normally received same-sex sacrificial victims, see Arnobius 7.19 and Stengel 1920, 135–136. Hölscher 1997, 155–156 estimates that this was true in cults of Athena 87 % of the time.

[35] Tatton-Brown 1989. For the cult of Apollon on Cyprus, see Dietrich 1996, 27–38.

[36] For a rare example of a nude kouros found on Cyprus, see Sheedy 1999 (funerary context).

[37] See esp. Weill 1973, 59–61; Hermary 1989, 44, 112, and 219; Wriedt Sorensen 1994, 80–84. Markoe 1990 associates male figures in Egyptian dress with dedications by Phoenicians.

[38] Vermeule 1974, 287–288; Counts 2001, 156–162.

But what of the Cypriot korai, with their fruits, flowers, birds, and bulls? Is it possible that they represented the Great Goddess herself? It appears that male priests served the Cypriot Great Goddess in the Phoenician tradition rather than female priestesses, at least until the Hellenistic period when Cypriot religious practices began to resemble Greek ones more closely.[39] The implications are twofold: some of the male figures may be representations of male priests dedicated to the goddess; secondly, Cypriot korai cannot represent priestesses and their female helpers if these did not in fact exist in the cult of the Cypriot Goddess. Thus on Cyprus, religious circumstances seem to rule out an interpretation of kore statues in the Archaic style as representations of women in sacred service. The prevalence of the cult of the Great Goddess on Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical periods argues instead in favour of identifying most Cypriot korai as divine representations, a position taken at various times by T. Hackens, M. Yon, and A. Hermary.[40] As in the case of the Acropolis korai, however, it is impossible to rule out the representation of generic, anonymous votaries. The case of the Cypriot korai is in point of fact neither completely independent nor particularly supportive of the concept of the anonymous, perpetual votary as an explanation for the Acropolis korai. It may be that Cypriot votive sculpture, with all of its intriguing particularities, is simply too different to compare with what the Greeks were doing in their own sanctuaries in the Archaic period.

Conclusions

Ancient Greek representation of the gods in every period was a complex cultural phenomenon that defies simplistic explanations.[41] In this paper, I have discussed one of the most problematic realms of divine representation in Greek art, namely marble votive statues in the Archaic style, and compared the Greek practice of dedicating kore statues in sanctuaries, best represented on the Athenian Acropolis, with the longer-lived Cypriot votive statue tradition. Both Greek and Cypriot statues of the kore type raise the same question: they are undoubtedly images *for* the gods, but are they also images *of* the gods? Whether intentionally or not, those who interpret the Greek korai of the Archaic period as primarily something other than divine images widen the gap between cult images (*Kultbilder*) and "ordinary" votive statues. In the case of both the Athenian Acropolis and the sanctuaries of Cyprus, a shared assumption—that the gods liked to receive same-sex perpetual votaries as votive gifts—has led to the interpretation of female votive figures as generic, anonymous images designed to serve as perpetual votaries, a solution seemingly in keeping with both the statues' iconography and their context. Yet, I continue to suspect strongly that the reception of Greek and Cypriot votive statues of all types by their ancient viewers was far more often contextual than it was iconographic. A contextual reception would take into account not only iconography, but also more fleeting aspects of location and placement, local religious tradition and cult practices, oral testimony, historical circumstances, and the statues' condition. Such contextual factors might have helped to convey not only the identities of votive statues, but also occasion, both left out of most votive inscriptions.

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[39] Hermary 1982, 171–173 and Maier 1989; *cf.* Connelly 1988, 18–25.

[40] See Hackens 1979; Yon 1989, esp. 257–259; Hermary 1989, 321; *cf.* Wriedt Sorensen 1994, 84–86 and Wriedt Sorensen 2002 for the view that both male figures and korai on Cyprus represented human portrait subjects.

[41] So, emphatically, Donohue 1997.

To return to the question I posed at the beginning: when and why did generic expectations for Greek votive statues change? I don't think that they ever did in any substantial way. It may be that the viewer of a Greek votive statue expected and continued to expect to see a god unless informed otherwise by iconography or context. The study of Greek votive statues could only benefit from something analogous to the so-called literacy debate in Greek epigraphy. Over the past twenty years, epigraphists have been forced to rethink their assumption that inscriptions are there solely because people read them. At one extreme, it has been suggested that very few Greeks could read Greek inscriptions on stone, and that inscribed *stelai* were meant to impress with their monumentality more than anything else; at the opposite end of the spectrum, epigraphists have had to work hard to establish how, why, and under what circumstances ancient readers read inscriptions on stone.[42] Greek votive statues and their inscriptions suggest that genre and generic expectations were crucial to reading both inscribed texts and the iconography of statues: in some fundamental way, the ancient Greek viewers of votive statues knew what the inscriptions were supposed to say and what the statues were supposed to represent without having to look at them very carefully. We as modern observers *do* need to read and to look carefully, and this is why we experience far greater difficulty in finding the gods among votive statues.

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[42] For general considerations of ancient Greek literacy and the problem of inscriptions, see Harris 1989 and Thomas 1992. For the idea that different genres of inscriptions activated different reading expectations, see Keesling 2003a. Bing 2002 offers an important corrective to the casual assumption that inscriptions were read as a matter of course.

GODS AND STATUES—AN APPROACH TO ARCHAISTIC IMAGES IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BCE[*]

FERNANDE HÖLSCHER

Archaism in the fifth century BCE

The problem of archaism has been a subject in the last twenty years of international archaeological research:[1] scholars tried to categorise and understand the different types of archaism in the diverse media, but one has the impression that a thorough discourse of the issue with its different aspects was held almost separately in French, English and German respectively. So I want to open the discussion in English on a very German point of view concerning archaism: archaism not purely as a phenomenon of style or attitude towards the past in general, but, moreover, as a religious phenomenon of the fifth century BCE.

It is true that religion in itself is marked by a certain conservatism due to the continuously repeated rites and the fact that cult statues were kept over a long period, since they were usually only replaced when a new temple for the same god or goddess was erected, as demonstrated by the Parthenon in Athens and the second temple of Hera in the Argive Heraion. But the installation of a new cult statue next to an old venerated one, or its replacement by a more precious or elaborate one, are cases rarely found, and all the supposed examples have to be examined with utmost care. This is why a modernisation of a statue was possible but not always allowed. When the priestesses of Hilaeira and Phoibe, the daughters of Apollon, tried to modernize the faces of the cult statues in Sparta, they were forbidden by a dream to adorn the second face, after they had already changed the old face of the first statue.[2]

The fact of religious conservatism that did not abolish old fashioned statues and did not allow them to be replaced by "modern" ones (which would be of more elaborate workmanship) does not imply that Archaic statues were preferred to contemporary art, though many scholars have tried to understand the archaistic style in the fifth century BCE in this way. In Roman times, Dionysos especially was represented in archaistic garments, while an archaistic style in general added to works of art, both reliefs and freestanding sculpture, a certain aura of festivity and cultic environment.[3] But even in this period when the archaistic style evoked a religious atmosphere, Archaic sculpture itself was not necessarily placed in a cultic context.[4] When temples under the reign of Augustus were adorned with Greek originals, as for instance in the case of the pediment of the Apollo Sosianus' temple, it was important to put original marble sculpture in the pediments in order to proclaim the *graecitas*, but not because sculpture of several centuries ago was considered more suitable in a religious sense. On the contrary, for example, Augustus took away the Athena Alea by Endoios to punish the citizens of Tegea, who had sympathized with Antonius. Although he had deprived the city of their goddess herself, he did not set the Athena in a temple, but rather placed her as booty in his proper *forum Augustum*.[5]

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[*] I am very grateful to Joannis Mylonopoulos for having invited me to a stimulating conference and for insisting on a monolingual publication.

[1] See most recently the papers collected in Bruit Zaidman – Gherchanoc 2006.

[2] Paus. 3.16.1.

But what about the fifth century BCE, a period that was very close in time to Archaic works of art? Did one really use Archaic forms to enhance the religious importance of an image? Those who speak in favour of this view seem to be supported by an ancient testimony often quoted in this context, a quotation of Aischylos found in Porphyrios: "When the people of Delphoi asked Aischylos to compose a paian for them he pointed to Tynnichos because this poet had composed the best paians. If one compared his own work with that by Tynnichos it would be the same as to compare new statues with old ones, because the latter even if they were worked in a simple way were considered as divine (θεῖα), whereas the new ones though made with much more skill and admired for this had a lesser notion of the god (θεοῦ δὲ δόξαν ἧττον ἔχειν)".[6] This old fashioned taste continued until modern times, when G.W.F. Hegel in his lectures about the philosophy of history in 1837 said: "Bilder hatte man schon lang; die Frömmigkeit bedurfte ihrer schon früh für ihre Andacht, aber sie brauchte keine schönen Bilder, ja diese waren ihr sogar störend", and exactly this meaningful opposition was the point for Aischylos. It was not the contrast of old and new but of simple and elaborate (ἁπλῶς πεποιημένα – περιέϱγως εἰϱγασμένα). Aischylos did not compare his *paian* to specific works of art sculpted in the severe style contrasted with Archaic sculpture, but he only referred to the amount of skill and elaboration that he thought was right for statues of the gods.

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[3] Hölscher 1987, 38–45; Fullerton 1990; Zanker 1990, 243–247; Hölscher 2007, 118–125. Archaism of Dionysos: Brahms 1994, 270–271; Hackländer 1996; Huet – Lissarague 2006, 182–187.

[4] Zanker 1990, 243–244.

[5] Paus. 8.46.1 and 4–5. Moggi – Osanna 2003, 502–503. See also Tanja Scheer's article in the present volume.

[6] Porphyr. *De abst*. 2.18.

We can be sure that these "simple" cult statues were not just raw pieces of wood as the Christian polemics wanted them (to demonstrate that people venerated the gods in a material that could not possibly be the god himself), and the notion of *xoanon* should not any longer be used in this way.[7] But how can we understand the quotation of Aischylos?

There were two reasons for the high appreciation of cult images in antiquity: either because of their religious power originating in their age or because they were venerated for their artistic value. The former had the advantage that stories could be told about their miraculous origin (fallen from the sky, swept with waves out of the sea to the shore, or transmitted by heroes of a distant past) in order to demonstrate that they were not made by a human's hand, but instead sent by the gods themselves. We owe our knowledge of cult statues mostly to Pausanias, who was in favour of "antiquities", since he was almost a "hunter" of very old statues and rites without dating them precisely. These statues were old and lively: especially those sculpted by Daidalos were rather uncouth to look at, but nevertheless distinguished by a kind of inspiration.[8] The opposite attitude was expressed by Quintilian who, while referring to Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias, thought that his "beauty is such that it is said to have added something even to the awe with which the god was already regarded: so perfectly did the majesty of the work give the impression of godhead".[9] Lukian, in a satire, even put the gods in an order of dignity according to their material, the golden statues ranging at the top.[10]

Whereas these different modes of impact are a matter of taste in Roman times, they are also closely related to the function of the respective statues as cult images in Greek times. Archaic gods ranged on a scale from very small to colossal examples. The statues of Hera of Argos or of

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[7] Donohue 1998.

[8] Paus. 2.4.5.

[9] Quint. *inst.orat*. 12.10.9.

[10] Luk. *Iupp.trag*. 7.

Artemis Orthia at Sparta and Messene had to be small, because otherwise the performed rites of bathing and clothing (Hera) or holding them at the altar (Artemis) could not be performed. On the other hand, Apollon at Delos, a *sphyrelaton* by Tektaios and Angelion, was not a small statue suitable for actively performing a ritual act. It was a statue of colossal measurements in the first temple of the Delian sanctuary dedicated to the god around 530 BCE. There was another even earlier colossal cult statue of Apollon at Amyklai that had the function of a territorial mark and could be seen from far away. By this, it is obvious that the equation of old and small does not work at all. Cult statues in Archaic times cannot be equated with statues, which people could treat like human beings. Obviously, size and cult-forms depended on the respective function. And there was also a variety of material in Archaic times: the creation of not only wooden and *sphyrelata* (sometimes gilded), but also marble images seemed to have started at least in the later sixth century BCE, as for example the well known Dionysos of Ikaria, a statue that was fixed in its base like the huge *Apollines*, and was neither carried around in processions, nor bathed nor "personally" fed.[11]

From all these possibilities, Aischylos surely had small statues without too much elaboration in mind. It was not a longing for the past in general, since the Delian Apollon was obviously also a part of this past, but, moreover, the need for simplicity. This is why Plato too later preferred stone and wood for dedications, whereas gold and silver would provoke envy.[12] Furthermore, simplicity was also one point of discussion for Porphyrios in his wider discourse about sacrifices, in which he pled for simple forms, *i.e.* frugal sacrifices over those of animals. Sacrifices and vessels for cult should be kept simple, and in this way also the old statues of the gods of terracotta or wood were more appreciated because of the simplicity of their material. It is not said that the past in itself was more esteemed, but only that simple materials were considered appropriate for the representation of the gods.

When scholars discuss archaism in the fifth century BCE, they mostly differentiate between a lingering archaic style that represents a continuum of Archaic elements in a not too distant time on the one hand, and a conscious use of Archaic forms on the other. Only the latter can be the object of interpretation, whereas lingering archaic means that a style was out of fashion in its environment and was not of any semantic importance. Real archaism means that the beholder was clearly aware of an old fashioned style, that this specific style was obviously created in a distant past, and that there was no need of the erudition of modern archaeologists to single out individual phenomena as old fashioned.

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[11] F. Hölscher 2005, 57 no. 16.

[12] Plat. *Leg.* 955e–956a.

In the fifth century BCE, archaistic representations of gods can be observed, as it is well known, on Panathenaic amphorae, in the figure of Hermes by Alkamenes, perhaps in the figure of Hekate by Alkamenes, and on some vases to denote an old image.

On Panathenaic amphorae the image of Athena was not drawn in contemporary style, but as an Archaic goddess (*fig. 29*). The black-figure technique alone was already out of date, when the victors in the various disciplines received an amphora, the content of which, the oil, was the actual price. The image of the striding Athena was more or less unchanged, not because the painters thought of a better past, but because they intended to demonstrate the continuity from the very beginning to their time. It was an archaism of type and not of style, a type that was almost a heraldic figure of the city. The figure did not represent the unchanged goddess because of a really existing statue of Athena:[13] the type of Athena was closely connected with the function of the image on the specific vases. Even famous painters such as the Berlin or the Kleophrades painter did not have any choice to exhibit their skilfulness. There was this tradition that could not be interrupted, since it signalled reliability.

In the same line of interpretation, I would like to approach the continuity of Alkamenes' Hermes dating to 440/30 BCE (*fig. 30*), if we are right in recognizing this work in the series of copies of the herm from Ephesos,[14] while the type of the Pergamon herm seems to be a Hellenistic adaptation. This image of a god is an example of a solemn representation. Hermes is looking straight at the viewer, with a long beard and the long hair considered a little old fashioned but, suitable for a door watcher, and it is exactly in this function that he was situated in the Propylaia. The rendering of the god in such solemn dignity would not have astonished contemporaries, if there had not been the curled locks on the forehead, which are indeed an infallible sign that the type was not invented in the fifth century BCE. On the contrary, an Athenian citizen was familiar with this type of the god's image, since he saw all those herms that stood on the roads of Attica since the time Hipparchos had ordered to set them up as landmarks on the country-roads around Athens, in order to inform people about the distance to the city. These herms were also inscribed with maxims to give intellectual food for the travellers. Thukydides tells us that in Athens it was a custom (κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον) to protect the entrances of houses and temples with this special form of Hermes' images.[15] Moreover, these herms were neither the invention of Thukydides' time nor of the late sixth century BCE in the context of the creation of Hipparchos' herms, but apparently are even earlier.[16] When entering the Athenian Acropolis, a fifth century BCE viewer was told by the archaism of the Hermes Propylaios that the herm stood there to protect the holy area, as it was the custom all over the city and its countryside. The strange form of the hermaic pillar symbolised safety and reliability, the image stood there and could not run away, and Hermes was a divine guardian according to ancient custom. This archaism represents an archaism of type, of continuity originated in the conservatism of a once developed type that had proved itself to be most suitable for this specific purpose—in the same way as Athena's figure on every Panathenaic amphora.[17]

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[13] Pollitt 1986, 182.

[14] Willers 1975, 33–47. Less convincing Stewart 2003a and Stewart 2003b. See, in general, Krämer 2001.

In the same protective function, a statue of Hekate with the *epiklesis* Epipyrgidia was situated not far from the entrance of the Acropolis, near the temple of Nike. Pausanias refers to her not during his long *Periegesis* in Athens, but while describing the sanctuary of Hekate on Aigina, and informs us that Alkamenes was the first to render the goddess having a triple body (πρῶτος ἐποίησε).[18] Is Pausanias just making up this story (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν)? This statue must have been part of the widespread Athenian custom to protect houses with an image of Hekate. Aristophanes tells us that by the end of the fifth century BCE, a *hekateion* in front of a house was quite normal.[19] We can detect reflections of the statue by Alkamenes in numerous statues of small size, the exact dating of which, though, is not yet solved.[20] Candidates for an origin still in the fifth century BCE are two small *hekateia* in Athens, one in the British school and one in the Agora,[21] which could possibly be the earliest reflections of Hekate Epipyrgidia in Athens, an image that seemed to be the model for future representations (*fig. 31*). In her publication of a skyphos' fragment from the Kerameikos in Athens, E. Simon convincingly argued for the existence of Archaic wooden *hekateia*.[22] In this sense, Hekate would join Hermes as a visual expression of an old custom. For even if Pausanias were right that before Alkamenes' creation there was no triple bodied Hekate, the archaistic style of this guardian statue would signal to a visitor that he was confronted with an old image (actually present in the whole city) with a firm body, which would not move away from the area it was supposed to protect—similar to the impression created by the caryatids of the Erechtheion.[23] The archaistic style would demonstrate continuity and military strength, not because the past was thought of being closer to the gods or more pious, but only because of a diffuse conservatism, a reference to traditional customs that had proved themselves to be especially reliable. The reference to the past was not applied in a normative sense, but only as a signal of a traditional, and thus reliable, divine protection of sacred spaces in the city of Athens. Even if the archaistic style of the *hekateia* cannot be understood in continuity of really existing *hekateia*, it could forge the impression of such a tradition.

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[15] Thuk. 6.27. Pausanias (4.33.3) still knew that the herm, *i.e.* τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνον was invented in Athens and had spread from there all over Greece.

[16] F. Hölscher 2005, 54 no. 1 (Georgios Despinis kindly informed me that he agrees with the early dating of this herm). For the origin and development of herms see Siebert 1990, 295–306 and 374–378.

[17] For the continuous tradition in the series of herms, see Willers 1975, 33–47.

[18] Paus. 2.30.2.

[19] Aristoph. *Vesp*. 804.

[20] For a possible archaistic appearance of the Hekate Epipyrgidia see Fullerton 1986, 671 n. 11. I do not fully agree with his analysis of the Hekate as the first truly archaistic

In his studies on various tendencies of archaism, M.D. Fullerton rightly stresses the fact that each archaistic monument has to be understood in its specific historical and formal context. He interpreted the image of Hekate Epipyrgidia as a "protectress against unknown evils … atop the Nike bastion, which was itself the very symbol of the city's security".[24] Nevertheless, his interpretation of the conscious choice of the archaistic style as a very specific reference to times past, as a reminder of the Athenian relationship to the Ionians, seems less convincing.

Another group of archaistic divine figures can be found in fifth century BCE narrative scenes, both in vase painting and architectural

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statue. Fullerton stresses the stylistic difference between upper and lower part of Hekate's peplos, the upper being comparable with contemporary reliefs, whereas the drapery patterns below the girdle were rendered purely archaistic.

[21] For a discussion of their date and the invention of Alkamenes see Simon 1985, 275 and Willers 1990.

[22] Simon 1985, 272–273 with n. 10.

[23] Werth 2006, 104–105.

[24] Fullerton 1986, 674.

sculpture. This is certainly not the place to answer the innumerable questions about representations of gods. I can only scratch the surface of the problem of whether they were understood as statues or as "living" gods. This is why I shall try to confine myself to those cases where people knew that a statue was meant and not the god or goddess him / herself.[25] This is important from a religious point of view, because there is in principle only a very slight distinction between god and his representation, as I intend to show in another article. It has to be examined if there really is a shift from an archaic equation of god and image towards a separation of statue and god, as some scholars have maintained. In this view, the "distant" god, separated from his statue in the fifth century BCE, is supposed to be an example of a *Götterferne*, of a disturbed relation between gods and their worshippers. The representation of a statue on a base would then have to mean that the god himself represented a different reality, separated from his image.

But what were the means used by an artist who wanted to stress that a *statue* of a god was meant, instead of his appearance in person? There is the base, which is not utilised in all representations to connote "statue", but can be taken as one of the possibilities. Another way would be to represent the god smaller than the acting persons, or to show him in an archaistic style as an eye catcher to tell the viewer that, in the represented story, the god is not actively involved as a "person". This is less a question of reality, as I want to put it, but of demonstrating that the represented divine figure was not an acting figure. J.J. Pollitt made the convincing distinction between an emblematic archaism (*e.g.* on the Panathenaic amphorae, for "sameness connoted stability"), a comprehensive archaism that means the deliberate recourse to this style (*e.g.* the late Hellenistic archaism) and the representational one in the narrative scenes ("They are made to look Archaic because that was the way most images really looked, not because the style had, in itself, a particular charm for the artist").[26] I would agree with the number and differentiation of these categories, but I cannot consider the narrative archaism as representational in the sense that the artists depicted what they saw in reality. I firmly believe that it is not at all a question of reality, but of a mode to put a god out of the action, as an additional way to tell the viewer that he was not looking at Athena but at her statue. In this way I would like to call this category narrative. This possibility was not given for the Archaic artists, but since the examples were confined to a restricted set of stories, where the artists knew very well that a statue was involved, they apparently did not have the desire to differentiate. Kassandra, when Aias pursued her, fled to Athena in the form of her statue.[27] Certain stiffness demonstrated that Athena was taken as a statue, but sometimes without knowing the story one could not tell if Athena was thought as a 'living' goddess or as a statue. The difference is reflected in the behaviour of Aias as well: sometimes he seems not to care about her presence (*fig. 32*),[28] in other representations he is shown as her real opponent.[29]

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[25] Already Schefold 1937, 41–45 convincingly pointed to this necessary distinction.

[26] Pollitt 1986, 182.

On a band cup dating to *ca.* 530 BCE (*fig. 33*) an offering was given to the goddesses' statue and not to Athena herself, otherwise the presence of a priestess would not have made any sense. The statue on the vase is not representing an actual statue type, at least, we are unable to prove it, but in the specific context the stiffness of the armed goddess characterised her as a statue and not as an acting or "living" goddess.[30] In Archaic vase painting this ambiguity was evident in several scenes of sacrifice, and modern scholars have argued one way or the other that the painters thought of a statue or of the living person.[31] The distinction was not decisive because a statue could be taken for Athena herself as well, but in a story where a statue is one of the actors the aim of the artists was—at least in the late sixth century BCE—to draw a statue. The gods could be drawn as statues, when they stood on bases, when they were clearly taken out of the action as stiff, smaller, archaistic figures, or in their frontal position. These various ways of representation helped painters and sculptors to paraphrase a statue.

The shift from the way the Archaic images of gods were represented to the representations of the fifth century BCE is not part of the history of religion, but only of a history of the image in narrative scenes. Even in the sixth century BCE, the painter had a statue in mind, when he painted the story of Kassandra who took refuge at the statue of Athena in order to escape Aias.[32] For, even though Athena is not smaller and not frontal, she is only seemingly involved in the action as a statue type of the striding Athena, the so-called Promachos type. In reality, the goddess does not interfere, does not help her supplicant who is sometimes depicted as a child. Athena does not even act when Aias meets her face to face, in the visual variation of the myth, which depicts the small figure of Kassandra almost disappearing between the two antagonists Aias and Athena (*fig. 32*).[33] The story was most often told in combination with the other outrage, the slaughter of Priamos at the altar of Zeus by Neoptolemos. Here both episodes of the fall of Troy are connected with a sanctuary: that means that the topographic indications *altar* and *statue* are part of the action. Without the altar and the statue the crime would have still been a crime, but not a sacrilege. In the well-known scene on a hydria in Naples by the Kleophrades Painter (*fig. 34*),[34] where these scenes are combined, Athena is not at all rendered archaistically. Nevertheless, her part in the story as a statue is clearly denoted by the base, the simplicity of the *peplos*, and the narrow stand of the feet. Thanks to these elements everybody knows that Athena is represented as a statue.

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[27] Mangold 2000, 39–46.

[28] Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cab. Des médailles 181: Touchefeu 1981, 340 no. 36; Mangold 2000, 168 II 19.

[29] Geneva, Musée Municipal HR 84: Paoletti 1994, 961 no. 63; Mangold 2000 II 7. 42 fig. 19. Madison, University of Wisconsin, Elvehjem Mus. of Art 1985. 97: Paoletti 1994, 961 no. 78; Mangold 2000 II 25. 43 fig. 21.

[30] Priv. Coll.: Shapiro 1989, 29 and 37 pl. 9a–b; True *et al.* 2004, 12 no. 67 pl. 2 Gr. 67.

[31] Shapiro 1989, 27–38. For Shapiro, in the vase representations, Athena has to be located mid-way between existing statue and "living" goddess, because "the way the goddess is shown reflects the influence of an important statue" (Shapiro 1989, 29). The same question arises for the Athena on the Panathenaic amphorae. In favour of a statue argues Robertson 1996, 391. On the contrary, Bentz 1998, 41–60 interprets the figure as the "living" Athena and offers a thorough discussion of the problem.

Kassandra's and Aias' story was told in different centuries differently: in the sixth century BCE Aias and Athena face each other and Kassandra often disappears behind the shield of the goddess. But Athena does not influence the action, her striding position is an attribute and sometimes Aias does not notice her at all. By the end of the century, painters wanted to clarify the picture-story by providing Athena with a pronounced base (*fig. 35*).[35] Is Athena in this period of time *only* a statue, *i.e.* a *thing*, while she formerly was an acting goddess? I do not think that this can be the answer, since both painters and viewers knew already in the sixth century BCE the story of Kassandra taking refuge at a *statue*. The ambiguity of goddess and statue was also expressed in the literary sources. In the description of Kypselos' chest, the story was summarised as "Aias of Lokri is dragging Kassandra from Athena", but everybody was aware that Athena as a statue in her sanctuary at Ilion was meant. Conversely, in Pausanias' description of the chest we read, that "Aias too is represented dragging Kassandra from the image of Athena (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος)", like an author or a vase painter of the fifth century BCE would most probably have described it.[36] From the end of the sixth century BCE onwards, painters apparently had to clarify the action, but thereafter it was a pictorial convention: a statue was on a base, it was often in a frontal position and sometimes given in an archaistic manner.[37] We have the pictogram "statue", and I think we have to understand the change exactly in this way. The painters' main wish was not to give new information—since a viewer who did not know the story was not able to understand it anyhow—but to further clarify the scene. We know that Kassandra took refuge with Athena because the goddesses' weapons are shown. As an additional attribute the painters from *ca.* 510 BCE onwards constantly clarified her other "attribute": the statue. The clarification changed nothing in the narrative content, for Athena had already been a statue in the earlier representations of the scene.

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[32] Oenbrink 1997, 34–65; Mangold 2000, 39–62.

[33] See here n. 27 and 28.

[34] Naples, Mus.Naz. 2422: Simon – Hirmer 1976, pl. 128–129; Giuliani 2003, 218–222 and 228–230.

[35] Art Market Geneva / New York: Mangold 2000, 45 fig. 24 and 47 fig. 25.

All these different modes for telling the viewer that Athena was a statue in a sanctuary range on the same semantic level. Once the formula "statue" was developed in the late sixth century BCE, it became possible to widen the range of topics: besides the general indication of "sanctuary", now stories could be visually told about the abduction of statues as the pillage of the Trojan Palladion, which was the condition for the fall of Troy.[38]

A certain archaism to denote "statue"—besides the representation of the base and the small size of the figure—has nothing to do with specific values (*e.g.* the old images being more effective, because in the sixth century BCE people were supposed to be closer to their gods) but should be seen as a generic abbreviation of "cult statue". In this sense the Dwarf painter rendered Apollon on an amphora in London as a kouros with hands attached to the legs without additional attributes—in a statue type about one hundred years old by that time—in a scene of Aias dragging

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[36] Paus. 5.19.5.

[37] Oenbrink 1997, 292–302, who has to admit that archaistic elements are often not general features for the whole figure, but can be also only partly applied: there are types of statues with contemporarily rendered garments, *cf.* Mangold 2000, 57 fig. 36, or with tight garments that would suit statues of the earlier sixth century BCE combined, however, with a general rendering, which stylistically does not differ from the main scene, *cf.* Oenbrink 1997, pl. 453.F1.

[38] Oenbrink 1997, 65–72.

Kassandra away (*fig. 36*).[39] This is a good example that the painter was indeed applying a pictorial tradition and was not really interested in representing cult statues standing in real sanctuaries of his time. We know that even in Archaic times the very few cult statues, securely identified as such, were shown with attributes not in order to facilitate their identification, which was mostly provided by their location, but because the attributes enhanced or defined the realm of the gods.

If we interpret the diverse modes of rendering a statue only as a pictogram, another group of representations can most probably be seen without an all too specific religious meaning: the parallel depiction of statue and god on red-figured vases.[40] Since by the end of the sixth century BCE vase painters had found a convincing and clear formula to depict a cult statue, it became possible to represent "living" gods next to their statues as well. Let us continue using the subject of Kassandra and Aias as an example. On an amphora of the group of Polygnotos, Kassandra takes refuge at the statue of Athena, who is frontally depicted with all her attributes, as usual (*fig. 37*).[41] This time Athena is rendered in a tight, sleeved garment lavishly ornamented. Nevertheless, in order to show that this was not only a lifeless statue but a living goddess to whom Kassandra addressed her supplication by embracing her image, Kassandra also turns towards the goddess Athena herself, as a "person". Athena as a friendly woman, without helmet but recognisable by her spear and her *aegis*, stretches out her right hand towards Aias, to calm and to admonish him to stop violating sacred laws. The clear distinction between statue and goddess does not mean that statues in this period of time are *only* pieces of wood,[42] but it clarifies the immanent meaning of the active participant cult statue. In the same way, Apollon is shown on a fragment of an Apulian red-figured crater playing his lyre in front of his own temple with his cult statue inside (*fig. 38*).[43] Nothing is said about the religious importance of the statue, but simply that the god acts in front of his temple and this element could only be designated in an unmistakable way by putting his statue inside.

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[39] Dwarf Painter Amphora London, Brit. Mus. E 336: Oenbrink 1997, 385 D5 pl. 31a. Oenbrink interprets the figures as Menelaos and Helen. See also Pollitt (here n. 25) who introduced the level of reality into the discussion.

[40] De Cesare 1997, 91–106; Oenbrink 1997, 203–206.

[41] Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll.: *ARV*^{2} 1058 no. 114; Touchefeu 1981, 343 no. 54; Matheson 1995, 253 and 472 PGU 133. Matheson is wrong when she maintains that here the living Athena is left out, see Mangold 2000, 55 fig. 33. See the almost contemporary volute-crater by Polygnotos, Getty Mus. 79. AE.198: Paoletti 1994, 963 no. 126; Matheson 1995, 47 P20 pl. 34 and 253; Mangold 2000, 173 II 64. On this crater a woman behind Aias carries a cult object on her head, a footstool. This compositional detail stresses the fact that Aias is about to commit a sacrilege in a sanctuary. The interpretation in Matheson 1995, 253 (the woman is "saving something from the destruction of her city") fails to convince me. The figure resembles too much the procession on the Parthenon frieze.

[42] Kossatz-Deissmann 2005, 393: "Das zweifache Auftreten eines Gottes in unterschiedlicher Erscheinung weist darauf hin, dass die Gottheit nun nicht mehr unbedingt mit ihrem Abbild identisch ist, sondern deutet auf eine bewusste Unterscheidung".

In the same way, Athena in Aischylos' Eumenids comes to Athens to find Orestes next to her statue as a refugee.[44] He is described as a supplicant, and Aischylos did not want to tell the story of the image in Athens, but rather to exemplify the effect Orestes' prayers had on Athena. The statue as merely an indicator of a holy place is solely a phenomenon of the late fifth century BCE, whereas in the first half of the same century, when one started to differentiate between god and statue, the statue was the actor in the stories told visually. Apart from the story of Kassandra, in the rape of the Trojan *palladion* by Diomedes and Odysseus, Athena is also shown as an observer of her own image's pillage.[45]

Even during the fifth century BCE, after the invention of a formula for "statue", there are several examples where modern scholars are not sure if a statue or a living god has been represented.[46] On a crater by the Curti Painter of the Group of Polygnotos in Ferrara, Kybele and Sabazios are sitting in a shrine, and it remains debatable if the gods themselves are meant or their statues.[47] One can interpret this ambiguity not as an intention of the painter to deceive the ancient and modern viewers, but as a conscious decision to leave it open if god or statue should be understood. And this ambiguity was only possible because, even in the fifth century BCE, the cult statue *was* the god. In this context, neither was it the intention to tell the story of an image (*e.g.* the rape of the Trojan *palladion*) nor were the gods / statues part of the narrative in order to designate a certain locality, the notion "sanctuary" (in addition to the altar). Painters wanted to show the cult of the specific gods with procession, music, etc. In a similar way, on an almost contemporary crater by Polion in Ferrara, Apollon is shown seated in his sanctuary expecting a procession (*fig. 39*).[48] Although the god sits in a very leisured manner, he has sometimes been taken for a real statue in his sanctuary.[49] But there is no unequivocal sign that a statue is really meant. More unanimously a statue of Artemis is seen on a pyxis in Naples, rather than the goddess herself, because the stiff stand of the figure recalls a statue more than a living figure (*fig. 40*).[50] But is this really so irrefutable? The open door attests that she stands in a building, just like Apollon is sitting in his temple on Polion's crater. This does not, however, favour the connotation "statue", since Apollon is sitting in too lifelike a manner to be interpreted as a statue. So we are confined to the statue-like appearance of Artemis. Aren't we reaching here a very subjective field of interpretation? I believe that even on the pyxis in Naples we cannot be so sure that the figure of Artemis is supposed to be seen as a statue. These and similar images of the same time around 440 BCE demonstrate that painters wanted to leave the question open whether the divinity or a statue were meant. They certainly did not wish to deceive their viewers, both ancient and modern, but for them a statue was the divinity as well.[51]

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[43] Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579: Oenbrink 1997, 385 D7 pl. 34.

[44] Aischyl. *Eum.* 397–409.

[45] Demargne 1984, 968 no. 103 pl. 714.103; Oenbrink 1997, 367 A10.

[46] Already Schefold 1937, 58–62.

[47] Ferrara, Mus.Naz. 2897: *ARV*^{2} 1052 no. 25; Bérard – Durand 1984, 19–26; Söldner 1993, 288; Simon 1997, 756 no. 66 pl. 512.66; Burkert 2004, 114 no. 201; Simon 2004, 251 no. 36; Kossatz-Deissmann 2005, 371 no. 4i.

Archaism and the "god(dess) of the fathers"?

The distinction between statue and god was often understood as a differentiation in a much wider sense, which would affect the history of religion: as a sign of the distance between statue and god to be equated with a separation of the human (in the cult statue) and divine spheres.

But even if we are wrong in our understanding of the stiff representation of cult statues in vase painting as a pictogram for "statue", and not as a conscious retrospective symbolising the "good old times", when there was a close connection between the two realms of gods and human beings, do we really have other proof that there was a clear shift in the beliefs during the fifth century BCE? Can we expect to deal with progressive vase painters who knew that a statue is a statue and a god is a god? Did they really want to signal the "good old times", when gods and human beings were close and the faith in the gods still unquestioned?[52]

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[48] Ferrara, Mus.Naz. 44894: *ARV*^{2} 1143, 1.1684. Simon 1983, 79 pl. 23.1; Lambrinudakis *et al.* 1984, 220 no. 303 pl. 208.303; True *et al.* 2004, 10 no. 52 pl. 1 Gr. 52; Kossatz-Deissmann 2005, 371 no. 4h.

[49] Oenbrink 1997, 125. The place, where the scene takes place, in Delphi or in Athens, is also a matter of debate, *cf.* Simon 1983, 79.

[50] Naples, Mus.Naz. 81908 (H3010): Söldner 1993, 289–290; Oenbrink 1997, 381 C1 pl. 26a; Shapiro *et al.* 2004, 330 no. 272 pl. 75.272. For Söldner this is the only secure representation of a cult statue: "Eine deutlich angegebene Tempelarchitektur mit einem vorgestellten Altar sowie der hölzerne Ausdruck der stehenden Götterfigur belegen dies". It is, moreover, the open door that seems to point to a cult statue.

[51] For the same problem on a later pelike in San Francisco (1925.365): *ARV*^{2} 1187 no. 1; see Söldner 1993, 291 n. 241.

Such an opinion is based on a more far-reaching assumption that there was indeed a deterioration of belief in the fifth century BCE, which could be extracted out of the abovementioned images. Since the gods were disinterested in the human world, distant in their own sphere, they were not any more in the statue—because of this statue and god could be doubled—and people had the desire to refer to the old time by drawing ancient statues. But on the contrary, there are many examples of a close relationship, especially in the beginning of the fifth century BCE, because of the enhanced self-confidence of the human beings. There are, for example, increasing representations with helping gods.[53] Furthermore, in many offerings, statues of both humans and gods are put on the same base.[54] And also in the context of votive practices, it seems that the Athena by Endoios was probably the first statue of a god to be put together with votives depicting human beings—korai and kouroi—on the Athenian Acropolis.[55] Now the goddess was not any longer confined to her temple.[56] And later the gods are demonstrating by means of their attributes that they are tightly connected with human life: for example the larger-than-life (5.35 m high) bronze statue of Apollon holding an *aphlaston*, set up at Delphi in order to allude to the naval victories at Salamis and Artemision.[57] Thanks to the attribute, the two realms of god and humans are unified.[58]

Admittedly, there might be some hints of a possible distance in questions of ancient religious beliefs, but only if we consider them in decontextualized way. One has always to look at the *communis opinio*, which is not always compatible with some critical voices of lonesome figures in the tragedies or the scepticism of the sophists. There are the lively cults, the erection of numerous new buildings for the gods in the fifth century BCE, and widespread testimonies for the confidence in divine power. Popular religious belief did not deteriorate in the fifth century BCE.[59] Why then should people long for a distant past, if there was an unbroken belief in the power of the gods?

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[52] Borbein 1973, 174–178; Willers 1975, 41; Borbein 1989, 103–104; Stewart 1990, 45; De Cesare 1997, 87–91; Oenbrink 1997, 22. 340–348. 351–352. 360–361; Mangold 2000, 62.

[53] Knittlmayr 1997, 76–77 and 107–108. See also Hackländer 1996, 23–24. More general: Morris 1996, 35.

[54] Ioakimidou 1997, 362–363.

[55] See also Catherine Keesling's article in the present volume.

[56] Viviers 1992, 162–169 fig. 38–39. Apollon, the gift of the Naxians in Delos represents an exception for a god as a votive, *cf.* Giuliani 2005.

[57] Hölscher 1997, 160.

[58] On attributes, see also Joannis Mylonopoulos' article in the present volume.

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[59] Mikalson 1983, 112–113. For later periods, see Kunze 2002, 121–125.

GREEK PRIESTS AND “CULT STATUES”: IN HOW FAR ARE THEY UNNECESSARY?[*]

Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge

Introduction

The title of this paper, mentioning priesthood, on the one hand, and the image of a god, a so-called cult statue, on the other hand, opens the way to a double problem. In fact, neither the priest[1] nor the image of a god is a necessary intermediary for worshipping the divine world in ancient Greece.[2] Regarding sacrifice, the main part of the ancient ritual practice, anyone may perform it with full powers as long as he respects the local tradition of the community to which he belongs.[3] This ritual leadership merely implies a certain authority and, if animal sacrifice is at stake, economic power. The leader of the procedure may be the head of the house, of the family, of a local community, or of a specific group of society. On the other hand, a divine image is an optional accessory in a sanctuary, in contrast with the altar, which is at the centre of the communication with the gods because of its role during any sacrificial procedure.

Be that as it may, priests and statues are omnipresent within the religious life of every Greek city. When they are attested, their role is significant enough to justify a civic interest in priestly office and also, though to a lesser degree, in the installation or conservation of divine images within sanctuaries. Thus, it would be untenable to sustain the view that priests and statues are unimportant components of ancient religious life because they are somehow “unnecessary”.

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[*] I would like to warmly thank Joannis Mylonopoulos for inviting me to present this paper at the Erfurt conference in July 2007.

[1] I use the term “priest” as the English translation of the Greek *hiereus* and “priestess” as the translation of the Greek *hiereia* throughout this paper. I do not take into account the cult-personal as a whole.

[2] *e.g.* Burkert 1985, 88–92 and 95–98 and Price 1999, 67–76.

[3] Herodotos (1.132) gives an *a contrario* definition of Greek sacrifice in describing Persian practice. He underlines the fact that the Persians must call on a *magus* for each sacrifice, implicitly placing this in contrast with the Greek situation.

This paper will support the assumption that priests and statues are, in their respective agency, efficient tools for human communication with the divine sphere. Understanding more deeply and comparing aspects of this agency might help us to grasp some aspects of the Greek representation of the divine.

A sacerdotal profile

The nature of the Greek priesthood has been deeply questioned for some years, based in part on the old assumption that Greek cults were a mere expression of civic life and, consequently, that the Greek priest had simply to be labelled a "civic magistrate". Various facts support this assertion. The Greek priesthood seems to be embedded within the secular life of the Greek polis. Also, Greek priests seem to lack expertise, they certainly lack dogma and they do not form a homogeneous group. All these ideas have been heavily supported since the nineteenth century, mainly in order to show how different the Greek priesthood was from its Christian counterpart.[4] The fear of an anachronistic reconstruction of a polytheistic religion has certainly played a major part in that evaluation. Another explanation is the prevalent sociological perspective that has concentrated its analysis on the "polis-controlled-religion" or on ritual as self-oriented practice without taking into account its recipients.[5] I will return to this point later.

Some qualification of such assumptions has recently been proposed. On a human level, real authority is surely implied by the office, as attested by many inscriptions regulating the appointment of priests or by the prestige linked to priestly status even after the term of office.[6] B. Dignas has also underlined the importance of income related to priesthood. "Priesthood is about receiving priestly shares", she writes in her dissertation.[7] As divine and priestly shares produced by sacrifices are often proportional or even identical, a kind of symbolic link must have existed between the priest and the god whose cult he serves. Our main difficulty is to evaluate the nature of such a link, that is to say the nature of that specific interaction between the human and the divine sphere.[8]

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[4] Martha 1882, 8–10; Legrand 1911, 936; qualifications in Woodhouse 1918 and Gschnitzer 1989. Brief presentation of the problem in Price 1999, 67–69.

[5] *Cf.* Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 (= 2000); criticism in Dignas 2003, 35–36 and Connelly 2007, introduction.

[6] Price 1999, 70; Dignas 2003; Stavrianopoulou 2005b.

[7] Dignas 2002, 249. *Cf.* also Dignas 2003.

Before returning to this issue, let us bear in mind that priesthood is not a general status, even for the priests in Plato's ideal city.[9] In Greek cities, to be a priest or priestess implies a particular service of a specific god in a defined sanctuary, often for a limited term. Some epigraphic records attest to the obligation of the priest's intervention if a sacrifice is performed within the sanctuary he serves, be the ritual private or official. A qualification is to be made if the priest is absent.[10] In the Amphiareion of Oropos, for instance, the priest prays and puts down the *hiera* on the altar, when he is present. If the priest is not present, the leader of the sacrifice may proceed himself with his own *hiera*, but every public performance requires the action of the priest.[11] Epigraphic evidence regarding priesthood shows that the priest's agency is expected as soon as a ritual act is performed in order to honour the deity he serves on behalf of the whole community.[12] On the one hand, this illustrates the fact that "the polis anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity".[13] On the other hand, a city searching for communication with deities needs to use the mediation of *one* voice during the prayer and of *one* efficient gesture when divine parts are set up on the altar.[14]

In public cults, for which servants are elected or chosen by lot,[15] this intermediary status of the priest or priestess is underlined by the procedure of the appointment itself. He or she is an emanation of the civic body. Even when priesthood is purchased, the sacerdotal profile is clearly defined in order to be sure that the male or female candidate will be efficient in establishing a link between the city and the god or the goddess he or she will serve in a specific sanctuary. Some particular rules are often specified.[16] As far as patrimonial priesthoods are concerned, time and tradition are key references to validating an efficient mediation, which can be reinforced by a specific area of expertise, as in the case of mystery cults like in Eleusis.[17] But even in this case, the official cult status implies a civic profile for holding priesthood.[18] When a city hesitates regarding the best procedure to follow for appointing a priest or a priestess, an oracular sanction has to be delivered.[19] When a public cult requires specific ritual expertise, as in the case of Egyptian deities for whom an Egyptian intervention is expected, the priest appointed by the city remains the prevalent authority within the sanctuary.[20]

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[8] *Cf.* Dignas 2002, 246–271; Pirenne-Delforge 2005; Motte 2005; Georgoudi – Pirenne-Delforge 2006; Connelly 2007, introduction and *passim*.

[9] Plat. *Leg.* 759a–d. *Cf.* Plat. *Plt.* 290c–e; Arist. *Pol.* 1299a14–20. For these philosophers, however, priests are a specific category of state officers. *Cf.* also Dignas 2003 regarding the specific dignity of priests who are no longer in charge in Rhodes.

[10] *LSS* 129 = Graf 1985, Chios no. 4 (fifth century BCE). *Cf.* Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 (= 2000, 39–40).

[11] *I.Oropos* 277 = *IG* VII 235 = *LSCG* 69 (fourth century BCE).

[12] *e.g.* *SEG* 44, 904 = Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 01/01/10 (Knidos, fourth century BCE); *LSS* 94 (Rhodes, third century BCE); *LSAM* 48 (Miletos, 276/5 BCE).

[13] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 (= 2000, 15).

[14] *Cf.* Porph. *De abst.* 4.22.7, who makes a distinction between offerings ἐν κοινῷ following tradition and private offerings κατὰ δύναμιν.—In his ideal city, Plato (*Leg.* 909d–e) emphasises the status of priests and priestesses by making their intervention absolutely necessary when any sacrifice is to be performed.

[15] On different modes of appointing priesthood, see Martha 1882, 24–33; Turner 1983; Wörrle 1990.

Notions of mediation and mediator seem to be an adequate way of describing the position of a priest within a Greek city.[21] Nevertheless, they have recently been discussed and their validity, as conceptual tools for studying priesthood in a comparative perspective, denied. This stands in comparison with the notion of social control, which would more adequately support a comparative study between different religious fields.[22] Without opening a broad theoretical debate on the subject, I would like to keep these terms available for thinking about priesthood in a vertical perspective, as far as communication between spheres is concerned. On a horizontal level, the question of a social control of symbols may also be interesting to address. A public sacrifice performed on behalf of a city is a social occasion that underlines many social roles among the actors, and religious agents act for the proper working of the ritual system, giving "horizontal" messages in this direction. But public religious rituals are also an occasion to establish communication between the city and the deity of a specific sanctuary,[23] be it the sacrificial procedure or, for instance, rituals involving the manipulation of a statue, as we will see below. Vertical and horizontal communications are not mutually exclusive. Despite the fact that, for us, Greek deities do not have any real existence, they are an essential part of the relationship created by ritual from an insider's point of view. Studying Greek religion without taking this into account reduces dramatically the possibility of understanding the system in its complexity.

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[16] On the sale of priesthood, see Segre 1936 and Segre 1937; Parker – Obbink 2000 and Parker – Obbink 2001; Wiemer 2003.—In 44 CE, the Roman proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus issued an edict to the city of Ephesos in order to reorganize temple finances (*I.Ephesos* Ia, 18b). Among many considerations, he complains (l. 16–18) that "they … sell the priesthoods as if it were an auction, and they call together men of all types to buy them and do not choose the most appropriate candidates, who would deserve to wear the crown (οὐκ ἐγλέγονται τούς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ὧν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὁ πρέπων ἐπιτεθήσεται στέφανος)". Translation and commentary in Dignas 2002, 150–151. *Cf.* Stavrianopoulou 2005b, 226–227.

[17] Aleshire 1994.

[18] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 (= 2000, 41).

[19] A wonderful example appears in Wörrle 1990.

[20] *LSAM* 36 l. 9–17 and 20–25, with commentary by Stavrianopoulou 2005a.

[21] Supported by Beard – North 1990, part. 6–9, and extensively used by Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 (= 2000, 38–42), who insists on a double mediation: the symbolic one assumed by the priest between men and gods, and the authority of the community (polis), which determined the form of the relationship between man and god.

[22] Rüpke 1996, 245–246, arguing that "mediation is a central feature of the Christian concept of priest", which presupposes an individual relationship between God (gods) and man. He strongly supports the notion of "social control" instead of the concept of "mediation" because "*Religionswissenschaft* can analyse its objects, religions, only as

Accordingly, analysing the priest-god-relationship in Greece implies the restoring of something other than civic duties or social control, even though these features are not negligible. The simple fact that women are engaged in this type of religious obligation, while only men could hold civic office and enjoy full political rights, shows that other implications are at stake, notably the presumed expectations of the cult-recipient.[24] Merely arguing the power of gender, which would imply a strict analogy between sacred servant and deity, is partly true but is also contradicted by a large amount of epigraphic evidence.[25] We have rather to look elsewhere, especially at the relationship that links a *hiereus* or a *hiereia* with *hiera*, be it during the sacrificial procedure and then in evaluating the sacrificial income or when the priest has something to do with the god's image, the so-called cult statue.

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systems of social actions or, paying more attention to the cognitive dimension, as systems of symbols." Therefore, religious specialists, in a comparative perspective, are examples of control for stabilising the symbolic universe.

[23] Bremmer 1996; Graf 2002, on sacrifice as "a chain of signs for communication"; Mylonopoulos 2006, 73–76.

[24] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 114–116; Georgoudi 2003; Georgoudi 2005; Connelly 2007, part. 1–6. *Cf.* Martha 1882, 20–23.

[25] Hupfloher 2000, 220–221.

A 'cult statue': what is this supposed to be?[26]

In Aristophanes' *Peace*, when Trygaios wants to restore in his city the goddess who gives her name to the play, he speaks of the goddess' "installation" with pots of green-stuff before finally choosing a sheep and sacrificing it.[27] The *scholia* to this passage explain that a god might be set up by boiling cereals in pots or by choosing a more expensive offering. The expression used to designate the procedure is: "setting up with an ox, a goat, or small cattle". As usual in such cases, different scholiasts and lexicographers give very similar versions of this comment. The *Suda* offers a more elaborate explanation than the others, saying that the setting up of statues and altars and the cooking of green-stuff in pots aim at recalling the first human alimentation. We are also told that a lost play of Aristophanes put on stage a character calling to witness "the pots of the Herkeios by which this altar had been set up" (*i.e.* the altar near which he was swearing the oath). It was possible to offer more expensive animals, but in order to go on faster and not to delay the setting up of pillars before a door or other installation of this type pots of green-stuff are used.[28] "Setting up with pots" is therefore a cheap and fast procedure, which is a structural equivalent of a sacrificial procedure involving an animal. The lexicographers also attest that the same procedures are reserved for statues and for altars. Evoking in Greek the ceremonial setting up of an altar or of a divine image implies therefore the semantic area of *hidryein, hidryesthai, hidrysis*. The verb insists on the foundation and gives us a first key to defining a "cult statue". Even if no Greek word does exactly correspond to such a translation, a "cult statue" is a statue, which has been set up in a community.[29] Two textual passages confirm this assumption. In *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Euripides shows Orestes led by Apollon and searching for the old image of Artemis. Once arrived in Tauris, he explains to the priestess, who is his own sister that "Phoebus cried out a golden voice from the tripod, and sent me here, to get the image Zeus hurled down, and set it up in Athena's land".[30] The statue is a miraculous object, but Apollon's order aims at giving it a specific rooting, that is to say that it will be transformed into a "cult statue". On the other hand, an inscription from Pergamon, dating to the second century BCE, grants Asklepios' priesthood to the cult-founder's son and his descendants. The regulation explicitly refers to the priesthood of Asklepios "and of the other gods 'installed' in the Asklepieion".[31] We are not told whether that means altars or statues, but this surely implies a close association between the sanctuary's "owner" and the other gods who are partaking of the honours of the worshippers. That is the very meaning of the *hidrysis*, be it presented on the tragic stage or in an epigraphic prescription.

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[26] The argument is summarised here from a longer study in French: Pirenne-Delforge 2008a.

[27] Aristoph. *Pax* 922–924: OI. Ἄγε δή, τί νῷν ἐντευϑενὶ ποητέον; | TP. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ ταύτην χύτραις ἱδρυτέον; | OI. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμφόμενον Ἑρμήδιον;.

[28] *Suda* s.v. Χύτραις ἱδρυτέον (Adler IV, 1935, 836): Ἀριστοφάνης· τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἢ ταύτην χύτραις ἱδρυτέον; τουτέστι τὴν εἰρήνην· ὁπότε γὰρ μέλλοιεν βωμοὺς καϑιδρύειν ἢ ἀγάλματα ϑεοῦ, ἕψοντες ὄσπρια ἀπήρχοντο τούτων τοῖς ἀφιδρυμένοις, χαριστήρια ἀπονέμοντες τῆς πρώτης διαίτης. Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναΐσι· μαρτύρομαι δὲ Ζηνὸς Ἑρκείου χύτρας, μεϑ' ὧν ὁ βωμὸς οὗτος ἱδρύσϑη ποτέ. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πολυτελεστέρῳ ἱερείῳ ἀφιδρύοντο. ἑρμᾶς δὲ ἱδρύοντες πρὸ τῶν ϑυρῶν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἱδρύματα, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βραδύνειν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, χύτραις ἀϑάρας ἱδρύεσϑαι. μεμφόμενοι δὲ ὡς πολυτίμητον οὖσαν ἄλλαις ἱερωσύναις αὐτὴν ἱδρύσαντο. ὡς οἱ μὲν νέφος ἐχϑρὸν ἀπωσάμενοι πολέμοιο, εἰρήνην εἵλοντο, ἱδρύσανϑ' ἱερείῳ. ὡς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ χύτραισιν ἱδρυμένου.

[29] *Contra* any use of the term: Donohue 1997.

Orestes does not describe the precise ritual he will perform in order to "install" Artemis' statue in Athens, but Aristophanes' pots and sheep imply that sacrificial offering, with animal slaughter or mere vegetable, was the concrete content of this *hidrysis*. As we can deduce for many other aspects of Greek cult, there is no universal rule applied to such a foundation. But what does such a *hidrysis* mean for the worshippers? Is it a "consecration" and, in this case, what is the difference between what is implied by that precise semantic area, which would be different from the action performed in the sphere of the *anathemata*, another form of "consecration"?[32]

In order to address this question, it would be useful to call to mind some general considerations about the Greek representation of the divine world. There is no theological definition of what a Greek god is, except for the double assumption of immortality and power.[33] This power is closely connected to the idea of honour: Greek gods need to receive honours from humans, their *time*, to be and feel completely divine.[34] On a mythical level, the Hesiodic succession story specifies different modalities of attribution of such *time* to each deity.[35] This attribution is put into real practice on a cultic level, when historical cities pay homage to their gods. At a local level, some stories recall that powerful gods had struggled in the past to become the main deity of a city. The opposition of Athena and Poseidon in Athens is well known.[36] There are other examples of divine disputes of a bygone and founding age for the cities.[37]

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[30] Eurip. *IT* 976–978: ἐντεῦθεν αὐδὴν τρίποδος ἐκ χρυσοῦ λακὼν | Φοῖβός μ᾽ ἔπεμψε δεῦρο, διοπετὲς λαβεῖν | ἄγαλμ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν τ᾽ ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι χθονί.

[31] *LSAM* 13 l. 7–10: τὴν μὲν ἱερωσύνην | τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι | Ἀσκληπιείωι ἱδρυμένων εἶναι Ἀσκληπιάδου | τοῦ Ἀ[ρχί]ου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδου, κτλ.

[32] For a range of hypotheses on this subject, see: Bettinetti 2001, 7; Graf 2001, 230; Linand de Bellefonds *et al.* 2004, 418. *Cf.* Gladigow 1985–1986 and Gladigow 1990.

[33] A. Henrichs, "What is a Greek god?", a paper delivered at the conference *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformation*, Edinburgh, 1–4 November 2007 (forthcoming). He adds anthropomorphism to the list. This third characteristic is not as essential to defining a god as the others.

The Greek words used to designate such procedures are very significant: be it a sanctuary, an altar or a statue, the *hidrysis* refers to the installation of a deity among humans. It aims to integrate the god within a city or some other community and to create good conditions for receiving the benefits of his divine benevolence. Defining a sacred place is important and the very name of *hieron* underlines this, but the semantic area of 'installation' and 'foundation' adds another dimension to the relationship with the divine sphere: the very first occasion of communication. *Hidrysis* implies the opening of all the future honours to be reserved for the divine recipient. The well-known inscription of Magnesia on the Maeander about the re-installation of Artemis' *xoanon* in its new sanctuary is a good example of such a situation.[38] The *kathidrysis* of Artemis Leukophryene is defined by a sacrifice that is as beautiful as possible, and the anniversary of this ritual will be celebrated every year under the name of *Isiteria*, "day of the inaugural celebrations." The first celebration held on the sixth of Artemision sets up Artemis' statue by assuring the goddess of the future honours she will receive from the inhabitants of Magnesia.

In the context of this setting up, local prescriptions certainly prevailed, but we are never told what was concretely done, except for the *hidrysis* of the token of Zeus Ktesios, in a poor-quality fragment from an Athenian *Exegetikon* preserved by Athenaios.[39] In order to define what a "kadiskos" is, Athenaios refers to a vessel used to set up the Zeus Ktesios, just before producing the fragment that gives the ritual receipt to establish, as he writes, "the *semeia* of Zeus Ktesios". Without giving all the details of this text, one may insist on the fact that the *semeia*, the symbols, the tokens of the god are established by a ritual manipulation, paving the way to all the other ritual actions in honour of the god.

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[34] Rudhardt 1981, 227–244.

[35] Hes. *Theog. passim*.

[36] Eurip. *Phoen*. 854; Hdt. 8.55; Paus. 1.26.5.

[37] Paus. 2.15.5 (Argos); 2.30.6 (Troezen).

[38] *LSAM* 33.

[39] Ath. 11.473b–c: ἀγγεῖον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ τοὺς κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὥς Ἀντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἐξηγητικῷ γράφων οὕτως (*FGrHist* 140 F 22 Jacoby and 353 F 1 Jacoby under Autokleides' name): "Διὸς κτησίου σημεῖα ἱδρύεσθαι χρὴ ὧδε …" *Cf.* Jaillard 2004, 873–874; Parker 2005, 15–16; Pirenne-Delforge 2008a.

The *hidrysis* of a god, be it his altar or his image, establishes the time of veneration in a community, the very first time that the god is assured that his *time* will be respected in the future. It is for this reason that sacrifice, the very core of the Greek honours, is often at stake in the *hidrysis*. On the other hand, the use of the term *semeion* linked with the *hidrysis* of Zeus Ktesios shows how a ritual can contribute to identifying the god, not only in an oral performance, but also in the use of concrete symbols. These symbols point to the specific identity of the god whose benevolence is expected. That is the "non-verbal address", closely associated with the gestures and the objects used in that context. When a specific statue has been created for a particular sanctuary, divine attributes can also refer to such identification.[40]

The foundation, the ceremonial setting up of an altar or a statue—both of them have to be joined in the reflexion[41]—aims at good communication between the community of the worshippers and the worshipped god. The god has to be sure of being regularly honoured and the community has to be sure of being protected. Altars and statues, when set up in a traditional specific process, are efficient places for such a potential mediation. The *hidrysis* does not transform a statue into a god—as shown by the similarity with the setting up of the altar—but creates the positive conditions for an interaction between the human and divine sphere by the mediation of an object. It is for this reason that an anthropomorphic representation is often at stake but this is not necessarily the rule. An "installed" *agalma*, whatever its form, is a beautiful present that has been "activated".

Just as Hesiod depicts gods needing human honours to feel fully their divine nature, an image of a god requires human honours to become what we call a "cult statue". In a public sanctuary, where many godlike images can be displayed, the setting up of one—or more than one—statue refers to an official decision, just like in Magnesia on the Maeander. In this case, we may be authorised to use the term "cult statue". On a domestic level, as attested by the Zeus Ktesios depicted by Athenaios, the ritual operation can be the same, to "activate" the *semeia* of a god. It is for this reason that I would not be as strict as some scholars, who have recommended the eradication of the notion of "cult statue" from our scientific vocabulary. There is a difference between a 'cult statue' and an *anathema* in a sanctuary, even though both of them are divine images. That very difference is the *hidrysis*, the setting up, which officially creates the conditions of the god's benevolence and protection for the community. On a private level, however, any worshipper in a sanctuary may give preference to any statue representing the deity to whom he or she wants to pray, whatever status this image assumes within this sanctuary. One can easily imagine a personal devotion to an *anathema* in the form of a human size divine statue. In this peculiar case, the *anathema* becomes a cult statue in a very loose sense.[42] Nevertheless, it seems to be more useful to maintain the expression to identify a statue officially set up in a public sanctuary. Structurally, this object is not so different from an altar, for which *hidrysis* is also attested.

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[40] For a more detailed examination of this question, with other examples, see Pirenne-Delforge 2008a. See also Joannis Mylonopoulos' article in the present volume.

[41] On the epiphanic potentiality of altars, see Pironti forthcoming.

At this point, both priesthood and cult statue, as defined above, appear in the role of a potential mediator between human and divine sphere, principally in a public and official context. Let us try to identify more closely such a mediation.

Priest, statue, and the representation of the divine

The link between the priest and the god *via* the image of the god can be studied along two lines: ritual action performed with a statue or occasional *mimesis* between the priest and the god. Let us start with the second point.[43]

One of the best examples of such a *mimesis* is found in a Hellenistic war episode between Aitolians and the city of Pellene, transmitted by Polyainos.[44] The priestess of Athena was the most beautiful and the tallest of all the girls in the city. As usual, on a given day, she was in full armour with a helmet. Seeing the girl coming out of the temple, the enemies were persuaded that Athena herself was helping the city of Pellene. Therefore, they ran away before gazing upon her for too long. There are variations on that theme in literary evidence, but Polyainos is interestingly connecting the likeliness of the priestess with the goddess, such a *mimesis* being constructed for a fixed ritual about which we know nothing else.

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[42] This sense is advocated by Scheer 2000, 143–146.

[43] Useful elements can be found in Connelly 2007, 104–115.

[44] Polyainos, *Strat*. 8.59.

In Pausanias, we read that, in the procession in honour of Diana/Artemis at Patrai, the maiden officiating as priestess rides on a chariot drawn by deer, probably constructing an epiphanic image of Artemis herself.[45] Such a hypothesis can be sustained by the reference to Antheia, the fictional heroine of Xenophon of Ephesos, exact contemporary of Pausanias.[46] Antheia is not labelled as a priestess in the text but is chosen to walk in the first line of the procession with a fawn skin and a quiver hanging down from her shoulders, with a bow, a javelin, and dogs running at her heels. This situation constructs a pattern similar to the procession at Patrai. This type of ceremonial elaboration finds a well-known parallel in the scenario planned by Peisistratos in coming back to Athens after his first period of exile. The tale is found in Herodotos and Aristoteles.[47] There was in an Attic deme a woman called Phye, which in Greek means "fine growth, noble stature". She was very tall and well formed. Peisistratos and Megakles equipped her in full armour and put her in a chariot, giving her the correct attitude (*schema*) to make the most impressive spectacle, and so she drove into the city. Heralds had to proclaim that Athena herself was bringing Peisistratos back to her own acropolis. Even if Herodotos finds the tale incredible because of the supposed cleverness of the Athenians, he explains that the townsfolk believed that the woman was the goddess and that they worshipped this human creature.

Whether such a plan to deceive the Athenians is real or fictional, it shows how anthropomorphism works and what an ancient man sees when he sees a god, to quote the title of an article of H. Versnel on that subject.[48] The keyword of the text is the word *schema* because it could refer to the goddess statue. The *schema* is, among other significations, one of the Greek ways of designating the attitude given by the sculptor to his creation.[49] As far as Athena is concerned, the full armour, be it in Pellene or in Athens, easily calls to mind specific attributes pointing to that specific goddess. The *schema* must refer to the way of possessing these attributes. Another story, rarely connected to that point, is told by Athenaios. It concerns the trial of Phryne, the courtesan loved by Praxiteles. Accused of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries, Phryne was defended by another of her lovers, the orator Hypereides. When it seemed as if the verdict would be unfavourable, Hypereides tore open her robe and displayed her breast, so that "he caused the judges to feel superstitious fear (*deisidaimonesai*) of this handmaid and ministrant (*hypophetis kai zakoros*) of Aphrodite, and indulging their feeling of compassion, they refrained from putting her to death".[50]

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[45] Paus. 7.18.12.

[46] Xen. Eph. 1.2.5–7.

[47] Hdt. 1.60: ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἅρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.4: τὴν θεὸν ἀπομιμησάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ. On the manipulation and its cultural background, see Connor 1987 = 2000, 60–68 and Blok 2000.

[48] Versnel 1987.

Once more, even though the story might be fictional, it is interesting to see that it closely connects, firstly, a goddess, Aphrodite; secondly, a human whose attributes are godlike and whose close association to the goddess is underlined by a sacerdotal vocabulary; and, finally, a statue, *i.e.* the naked Aphrodite carved by Praxiteles and for which Phryne is thought to have been the model.[51] The judges' change of heart was not simply founded on the girl's exceptional beauty. They acquitted her because such a beauty was seen as a mark of divine favour, full of epiphanic potentialities. A last female example: at Tegea, in a ritual context once a year, the priestess pretending to be Artemis would chase after a man pretending to be Leimon, the son of the eponym king Tegeates.[52] This ritual re-enacted during the festival—metaphorically we hope—the punishment of Leimon, who had killed his brother and was put to death by the goddess herself.

On the male priest's side, we do not have so much evidence. Nevertheless, the example of the servant of Heracles on Kos is explicit in the *Greek questions* of Plutarch. The question is: "why is it that, among the Koans, the priest of Herakles at Antimacheia dons a woman's garb, and fastens upon his head a woman's head-dress at the beginning of the sacrifice?"[53] Coming back from Troy, Herakles encountered a storm. When his other ships had been destroyed, he was driven in the only remaining one by the gale to Kos. He was cast ashore and finally a mighty battle was engaged in between the Greeks and the Meropes, the inhabitants of Kos. Being exhausted by the multitude of his adversaries, Herakles fled to the house of a Thracian woman and took a feminine garment to escape detection. Later, when he had overcome the Meropes in another encounter, and had been purified, he married the Thracian woman and assumed a flowered garment. "Wherefore", concludes Plutarch, "the priest sacrifices on the spot where it came about that the battle was fought, and bridegrooms wear feminine raiment when they welcome their brides". As usual in the *Roman* or *Greek Questions* of Plutarch, the aetiological tale does not exactly match the point. On the one hand, Plutarch does not refer to the priestly dress, but only to the bridegroom's garment (*stole*). On the other hand, the sacrifice merely appears in association with battle because of the spot where the ritual takes place. Martial and marital patterns seem to be artificially connected but, even if Plutarch does not say so explicitly, when the priest begins the sacrifice, his garment seems to point to Herakles himself.

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[49] *e.g.* Paus. 3.10.8; 4.31.7; 7.27.4.

[50] Athen. 13.590e: ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤνυε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικασταὶ κατα ψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς καὶ περιρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαί τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέῳ χαρισαμένους μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι (Translation C.B. Gulick). *Cf.* Cooper 1995.

[51] See Stewart 1997, 104–106.

[52] Paus. 8.53.3. *Cf.* Jost 1985, 483–484.

As far as epigraphic evidence is concerned, we sometimes find explicit guidelines to prevent worshippers from offending the god or the goddess by wearing inadequate clothes in his or her sanctuary.[54] Moreover, so-called sacred laws display a large number of requirements for priestly ritual dress or even priestly everyday garments.[55] The requirements for worshippers may be connected with ritual purity or aimed at preventing ostentation. Purity is also a priestly concern found in inscriptions but, in that case, ostentation does not necessarily imply a similar restriction. Priestly dress was often associated with symbols of power, as were the colour purple, a sceptre, a wreath, and golden jewellery. Homeric poems describe kings and priests alone as "honoured among the people as a god".[56] Priestly dress does not necessarily imply, strictly speaking, a divine identification. However, the connection with divine power could be called to mind when the priest or priestess was appearing with a specific garment during the feast of the god he or she served. The priest could appear as a god, by virtue of the Greek anthropomorphic divine look. Moreover, divine epiphany always had an element of virtuality.

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[53] Plut. *mor*. 304b–e (Translation F.C. Babbitt).

[54] *e.g. LSCG* 65 l. 14–26 (*cf.* Deshours 2006). *Cf.* Mills 1984, 258–262.

[55] Some evidence is collected in Georgoudi – Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 29–31; Connelly 2007, 90–92.

[56] Kings: Hom. *Il.* 10.33. 11.58. 13.218; priests: Hom. *Il.* 5.76–78. 16.603–605. *Cf.* Connelly 2007, 105.

At the level of the representations, to which a large part of this literary evidence belongs, we are told that priests and priestesses may be intermittent vectors of divine manifestation, just as cult statues may be too. This does not imply that each ritual theatrically activates this virtuality, as epigraphic evidence demonstrates. But such virtuality, on the one hand, and specific attributes, on the other hand confirm that they are powerful instances of mediation and ritual communication.[57]

Priestly perquisites are also a good indication of such a mediation, which would need a deeper analysis than the present paper is able to propose. Let us simply underline the fact that some epigraphic regulations explicitly assimilate to the priestly share the offerings placed on the holy table next to the altar.[58] In Chios, the entrails put into the statue's hands or onto its knees are also given to the priest.[59] As far as income is concerned, we are well aware of where all these items are destined. As far as ritual action is concerned, all these items are offerings to the god and this should not be forgotten. Economic considerations are not the whole picture, just as a divine appearance in a festival is not simply a theatrical component based on a particular garment. From a religious point of view, when an offering remains unburnt and is given to the priest, the priest stays in the middle ground between the divine (because he has received divine meat) and the human condition (because he is eating). It is for this reason that we read in the *Oneirokritikon* of Artemidoros "robbing a temple or stealing the votive offerings of the gods indicates bad luck for everyone, except for priests and prophets. This is because custom allows them to take the offerings to the gods and thus, in a certain sense, they are supported by the gods".[60] If we agree that the occasion of a sacrifice is one of the most efficient times of communication between both the human and divine spheres, priests and priestesses are situated at the core of this interaction, particularly when the whole community is involved: they put the *hiera* on the altar whilst saying a prayer and they may receive some animal parts to set out on a table. They are active mediators in transforming some animal parts into smoke for the gods.

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[57] An interesting comparison might be found in Rome, see Scheid 1986.

[58] *LSAM* 48 l. 15–18 (Dionysos. Miletos, 276/5 BCE): διδότω γέρη τῆι ἱερείαι … ἱερὰμ μοῖραν …; *LSAM* 24 l. 23–25 (Asklepios. Erythrai, 380/360 BCE): ὅσα δὲ ἐπὶ [τὴν] | τράπεζαν παρατεθῇ ταῦτα εἶναι γέ|ρα τῷ ἱρεῖ. On the *trapezomata*, see Gill 1974 and Gill 1991.

[59] *LSCG* 119 l. 3–7 = Graf 1985, Chios no. 5 (Herakles. fourth century BCE): γλώσσας καὶ σπλάγ|χνα, τὰ εἲς χεῖρας καὶ μερίδ|α δίκρεων καὶ τὰ δέρματ[α]; *LSS* 78 l. 4–8 (unknown deity. 2nd century BC): τῶι ἵρ|εωι γίνεσθαι σπλ|άγχνα, τὰ ἐς γόν|ατα καὶ γλάσσαι | καὶ γέρας. *Cf.* Le Guen-Pollet 1991, 15–17 with further references.

[60] Artemid. *Oneirokritikon* 3.3.2.

A Hellenistic inscription from Kos regulating the purchase of the priesthood of Dionysos Thyllophoros[61] attests to this agency, related to any animal offering. The honorific parts (γέρη) received by the priestess when an animal was sacrificed are described. If these *gere* are not given, the regulation stipulates that “the *hiera* will be ἄθυτα”, the elements situated at the core of the sacred operation will therefore stay “unsacrificed”.[62] Interpreting this expression is not self-evident: this could mean either that the divine part will not be burnt at all or that, even if it is burnt, this part will not produce the effect expected by the sacrificial procedure, that is to say an efficient communication with Dionysos. The solution depends on sacrificial timing connected to the practicalities of how the meat was divided and distributed: when were the *gere* given to a priest? In the fourth *mimiambos* of Herodas, two women sacrificing to Asklepios on Kos offer a rooster to the god and give his honorific part to the *neokoros* at the very end of the sacrificial procedure just before leaving the sanctuary.[63] If the timing had been the same for Dionysos Thyllophoros on Kos, the benefits of the procedure would have been annihilated even if the god’s part had been burnt because his priestess’ interests would have been injured. Whichever of the two solutions is correct, the regulation outlines an interesting relationship between the divine part burnt on the altar and the priestly share to be given by each sacrificer. Such an agency and parallelism might explain why priests are also the most frequent recipients of cooked or even raw meat displayed for the gods, as much as they are of cakes and different foods, as seen earlier. Aristophanes confirms this fact on a comic level with a very significant technical vocabulary. In *Ploutos*, the priest of Asklepios takes unburnt cakes from the altars and other pastries and figs from the sacred *trapeza*; putting them in his bag, he “consecrates” them (ἁγίζειν).[64] The verb plays with the technical term καθαγίζειν, which means combustion within sacrificial fire.[65]

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[61] *I.Cos* ED 216 (= former version of *LSCG* 166 dated in the second / first century BCE).

[62] Lines 10–12: … τᾶι δὲ μὴ ἀποδούσαι τὰ γέρη ὡ̃ς γέγραπτ[αι | τ]ὰ ἱερὰ ἔστω{ι} ἄθυτα. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιβαλλέτω πά̣|[σ]α̣ις τὰ ἱερὰ ἅ ἱέρη ἢ ἅ ὑφιέρεια ἄν κα ἀποδε[ίξ]η̣ ἅ ἱέρη.

[63] Herod. *Mimiambi* 4.88–90.

[64] Aristoph. *Plut*. 676–681.

[65] Rudhardt 1992, 236–238; Casabona 1966, 200–204.

The second line of this point about the link between priest and god is the ritual action performed with a statue, and here the question of divine power and honour re-emerges. Let us go again to Pellene, where the Aitolian soldiers were seized by panic in front of the priestess of Athena. Plutarch, in his *Life of Aratos*,[66] tells more or less the same story in two different episodes. A captive woman, conspicuous for her beauty and stateliness of person, had been placed in the sanctuary of Artemis. The captain had seized her for his prize and set his three-crested helmet upon her head—a way to show that the girl was his own. When she ran forth to view the tumult outside the Artemision, she seemed to the citizens a divine vision, while the enemy thought they saw an epiphany and were struck with amazement and terror.

Afterwards, Plutarch presents a version by the Pellenians themselves, without saying where he had found the preceding tale. The statue of the goddess usually stood untouched. Even if Plutarch does not identify the goddess, we may presume that it was Artemis whose sanctuary he had mentioned just before. When the statue was removed by the priestess and carried forth from the temple, no man looked upon it, but all turned their gaze away. The statue was dangerous to human beings, but also to trees and plants. During the battle against the Aitolians, the priestess carried the image forth from the temple and by always turning it in the faces of the Aitolians she made them crazy.

Accordingly, Plutarch tells the same story twice. There is a structural equivalence between the fear of the army facing the epiphany of the alleged goddess with the helmet and the madness of the same soldiers caused by the priestess holding the powerful *bretas* of Artemis. As regards Polyainos' story presented earlier, it combines all the patterns: the beautiful girl resembling a goddess, the priestess causing fear and even madness in the Aitolian rows, the sudden divine appearance, be it the presumed goddess or her statue. Could we find another piece of evidence regarding that maleficent statue? Pausanias, visiting the city, mentions a temple of Athena, a sacred grove of Artemis Soteira, and a temple of Artemis depicted as a huntress.[67] He does not tell the Aitolian story nor does he evoke the statue of the saving goddess, whose *epiklesis* could, however, be related to such a warlike intervention. His silence is puzzling, as are other silences and omissions in the *Periegesis*, but the restriction of admittance into the *alsos* is perhaps connected to the problematic statue. Be that as it may, these different texts offer a significant example of the structural equivalence between priestess and statue, the divine manifestation acting through both of them. This was also the case in the Spartan ritual in honour of Artemis Ortheia. During the whipping of boys at the altar of the goddess, the priestess held the old *xoanon*, which became still heavier if the whipping remained too light, as if the goddess herself was communicating her will to the statue, interpreted by the priestess.[68]

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[66] Plut. *Arat*. 32.2. *Cf.* Ellinger 1993, 222–223.

[67] Paus. 7.27.2–3.

To qualify this comment, another document needs to be produced. This is an honorary decree of the year 60/59 BCE proclaimed via the priests of Kore in the Arcadian city of Mantineia for a woman named Nikippa.[69] We are told that Nikippa has piously attended the successive priests of Kore in their duties. At the occasion of the Koragia, she led the procession, presided over the sacrifice to Kore, and presented the *peplos* to the goddess. Nikippa also contributed to some restoration works in the sanctuary of Kore. Finally, we are informed that she welcomed the goddess at home, as was the custom for those who were successively priests, and that she lavishly accomplished what the custom prescribed for the opening of the temple on the thirtieth day. The manipulation of the goddess' image played an important part in the *leitourgia* accepted by Nikippa in the context of the Koragia, which is literally the festival where "Kore has to be carried off". The goddess statue was led off, kept in a private house and then brought back to the temple, which was open for the occasion. In an indirect way, we are told that priests are normally closely connected to the statue in that context. Nevertheless, in the first century BCE, such a priestly duty could be assumed by someone else, including at a ritual level, if the priest was unable to bear the financial implication of the operation. A lot of ritual information is missing in an inscription aiming at honouring a benefactor. This is very significant, however, of the Greek flexibility in the assessment of religious obligations. Just as a priest needs or does not need to be there when a sacrifice is performed, the ritual manipulation of a statue may be his traditional duty but may be attributed also to a pious worshipper, whose financial involvement is rewarded by a prestigious play in the religious arena of the city. Be that as it may, the *ethos* here contradicted by the authoritative decision of the city normally implies a manipulation and conservation by the priest.

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[68] Paus. 3.16.10–11.

[69] *IG* V 2, 265 l. 21–23 (60/59 BCE). *Cf.* Jost 1985, 346–349 and Jost 1996.

A final text has to be called to mind. In the Boiotian book of Pausanias' *Periegesis*, we are told that, of the gods, the people of Chaironeia honour most the sceptre that Hephaistos made for Zeus. They worship this sceptre, calling it Spear (*Dory*). The expression used by Pausanias is perfectly in accordance with the way he usually shows the most honoured anthropomorphic god in a city (*malista timôsin*). In his words, the sceptre *is* the god. The next sentence qualifies that amazing statement: "That there is something peculiarly divine about this sceptre is most clearly shown by the fame it brings to the Chaeroneans".[70] Then, Pausanias proceeds and concludes with the worship itself: there is no public temple built for the sceptre and its priest keeps it for one year in a house (we may suppose that the house is that of the priest); "sacrifices are offered to it every day, and by its side stands a table full of meats and cakes of all sorts".[71] Fame (*to epiphanes*) and divine nature are closely connected in the interpretation Pausanias gives of that particular cult, probably referring to Zeus himself. The sceptre works in the city just like a powerful image. It is not a statue of the god, but there is no real difference between each of these as far as function is concerned. It works as a medium between the divine world and the worshippers among whom the priest has a specific role to play.

It is for this reason that, when Strabo tells the story of the foundation of Marseille,[72] the religious part of the setting up implies two elements. Let us recall the context. When the Phokaians were about to leave their country, an oracle commanded them to take from Artemis of Ephesos a leader for their voyage. Arriving at Ephesos, they therefore inquired how they might obtain from the goddess what the oracle had enjoined them. Artemis appeared in a dream to Aristarche, one of the most honourable women of the city, and commanded her to accompany the Phokaians, and to take with her "some *aphidryma* among the *hiera*" (ἀφίδϱυμά τι τῶν ἱεϱῶν), that means, something ritually efficient to transfer into the colony the benevolence and protection of the goddess. We do not know if this is a statue or something else, as I. Malkin has correctly shown,[73] but the notion of *aphidryma* implies a sacred component, which will ritually create the conditions of a good mediation between the community in its new territory and the goddess whose protection was ensured in the metropolis.

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[70] Paus. 9.40.10–12: θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Διί φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἥφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεῖ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρέα Θυέστῃ, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, Δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μέν τι θειότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὑρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὕρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένοις ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἠλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πείθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκήματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καί οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης.

[71] Translation W.H.S. Jones.

[72] Strabo 4.14.4 (C179).

What becomes of the priesthood in that respect? It is not by chance that Aristarche was made priestess of Artemis after the colony of Marseille had been settled. Through her dream, she had become a medium before the sea voyage, ensuring success to the expedition. Such mediation was still expected in the colony itself. In that case, Strabo specifies that all colonies sent out from Marseille hold this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving both the shape of the *xoanon*, and also every rite (*nomima*) observed in the metropolis. All these cults of Artemis are *aphidrymata*, not necessarily because of the shape of the statue, but because of the identity of the ritual acts between the cult of the metropolis and the one in the colony.[74] In this respect, attention directed towards the priesthood is one way to control ritual continuity and efficacy.[75]

Conclusions

According to the analysis of dreams by Artemidoros, "seeing Zeus himself in the form that we have imagined him to be or seeing a statue of him in which he is wearing his proper attire (ἔχον τὴν οἰκείαν σκευήν) is auspicious for a king or a rich man". Further on, in relation to Artemis, he writes, "it makes no difference whether we see the goddess herself as we have imagined her to be or a statue of her. For whether gods appear in the flesh or as statues fashioned out of some material, they have the same meaning. But when the gods have been seen in person, it signifies that the good and bad fulfilments will take place more quickly than they would have if statues of them had been seen".[76] Seeing the god himself implies an immediate consequence. Seeing the statue implies a mediated effect, which takes much more time to come into being. The statue is not the deity but may be a convenient tool for approaching it.

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[73] Malkin 1991, 78–87. *Cf.* Rolley 1997, 37–43; Bettinetti 2001, 54–63.

[74] Anguissola 2006, 643–646.

[75] *Cf.* Stavrianopoulou 2005a.

[76] Artemid. *Oneirokritikon* 2.35: οὐδὲν ⟨δὲ⟩ διαφέϱει τὴν ϑεὸν ἰδεῖν ὁποίαν ὑπειλήφαμεν ἢ ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς· ἐάν τε γὰϱ σάϱκινοι οἵ ϑεοὶ φαίνωνται ἐάν τε ὥς ἀγάλματα ἐξ

As far as priesthood is concerned, R. Parker recently remarked, "the functional equipollence of magistrate with priest as representatives of the city before the gods is central to the embeddedness of religion within the city". But, as a very good connoisseur of Greek religion, he immediately qualifies the statement: "Priest and magistrates come at the same job from different angles: the magistrates represent the city, before the gods as other spheres; the priest communicates with the divine, for the city as for other clients. But the point remains that there is no concern to preserve or enhance or underline any such functional differentiation".[77] It is for this reason that Nikippa of Mantineia was allowed by the city to keep the statue of Kore at home. However, elements of differentiation must not be underestimated, *i.e.* the priestly income and the close connection between *hiereus* or *hiereia* and *hiera*, even though they were intermittent or unnecessary when a ritual merely implied an individual, a "private" concern.

Since statues and priests may be good mediators between worshippers and the divine, the comparison between their respective agency offers a working analogy for thinking about the Greek representation of the divine. Sacrificial imagery refers to smoke rising from the altars, which is a wonderful tool for encapsulating the god's incorruptibility. In this context, the function of the priest is principally ritual: he presides over sacrifices and receives a share closely connected to the unburnt divine part. Anthropomorphism, therefore, opens the door to some paradoxical splitting between separated cosmic levels: even if the Greek gods do not eat like human beings, they receive a lot of food, just like humans. This mimetic act of honouring gods as if they were human eaters results in a very concrete end, that is to say in their priest's stomachs. Even though very concrete and economically attractive, this situation also attests to a symbolic link between priest and god, which confirms the mediating action of the priest in the ritual, especially when the whole community is involved in the performed ritual. Accordingly, human imagery of paying honour and respect is difficult to escape on sacrificial occasions.

ὕλης πεποιημένα, τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι λόγον. ϑᾶττον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγαϑὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ σημαίνουσιν αὐτοὶ οἱ ϑεοὶ ὁϱώμενοι ἤπεϱ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν (Translation White 1975, 114).

[77] Parker 2005, 98.

Regarding cult statues, standards of humanity are also difficult to escape in producing them. In order to make the invisible become visible, materiality of wood, stone or metals is inescapable, and human shape is often privileged. J.-P. Vernant described this process several years ago with the untranslatable French neologism "présentifier l'invisible".[78] According to the level of religious consciousness of its viewer, a statue will be identified with the god it represents, or it will be considered as an elective place where the deity can manifest itself in intermittency, or merely as a piece of wood or an artisanal product. Be that perception as it may, a statue is a present to a deity, which becomes a cult statue by virtue of a collectively supported offering ritual. This is a human way to pay homage to supra-human powers, and such a material representation is rooted in human standards, just like raw meat displayed on a sacred table next to the altar or cooked food placed on a table as part of a *theoxenia* ceremony.[79]

Creative human imagination perceives the felicity of the gods, comparing it with its own: a musical feast where perfect human bodies are eating, drinking, dancing, merely living in the present that is a human equivalence of divine eternity. This human representation is the very condition that makes communication with non-human powers possible, even though the fluidity of this polytheistic system implies many concrete variations in ritual practice, which often defy generalization. Both "cult statues" and priests take part in such a representation.

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[78] Vernant 1983.

[79] On the issue of raw or cooked meat offered to the gods, see Ekroth 2008, 95–98.

THESEUS AND THE STONE
THE ICONOGRAPHIC AND RITUAL CONTEXTS OF A GREEK VOTIVE RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE[*]

Gunnel Ekroth

One of the most important heroes of ancient Athens was Theseus, credited with ridding Athenian territory of monsters and threats and uniting all of Attica by a *synoikismos*. The myth of Theseus was extensive and full of twists and turns and did clearly develop during a considerable period of time. Elements such as the Cretan expedition, the killing of the Minotaur and the abduction of Helen are among the older parts, while adventures such as the clearing of the coast of the Saronic Gulf from unpleasant individuals or fighting the Amazons seem to have been added at a later stage.[1] Theseus figures prominently in vase painting from the end of the sixth century, and in the Classical period he was represented in wall paintings and free standing and architectural sculpture as well.[2] The changes in the imagery of Theseus have been associated with the political developments of Athens, although the interpretation of his popularity has been given fundamentally different explanations, seen as the result of the political propaganda either of Peisistratos' tyranny or of Kleisthenes' democracy.[3]

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[*] I want to thank Joannis Mylonopoulos for inviting me to the conference in Erfurt. Many good suggestions on the text were made by Susanne Berndt-Ersöz and Claude Björk, as well as by my colleagues at the Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm University, for which I am grateful. I also wish to thank Hans-Ruprecht Goette for graciously providing me with the photo of the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike (*fig. 43*).

[1] Kearns 1989, 117–124; Calame 1990; Neils 1994, 949–951; Walker 1995; Luce 1998.

[2] The work on the iconography of Theseus is vast; see, for example, Schefold 1978, 150–168; Sourvinou-Inwood 1979; Brommer 1979; Brommer 1982a; Brommer 1982b; Neils 1987; Schefold – Jung 1988, 235–236; Shapiro 1989, 143–149; Schefold 1993, 114–126 and 255–260; Neils 1994, 922–951; von den Hoff 2002.

[3] Contrast Schefold 1946, who sees the popularity of the Theseus cycle cups as an outcome of the Kleisthenic period, with Connor 1970, 143–174 and Shapiro 1989, 143–

But what about the cult of Theseus? Do the popularity of Theseus' exploits in art and his importance as a vehicle of political propaganda correspond to a high number of monuments showing him as a figure of cult? In fact, there is surprisingly little iconographic evidence for the cult of Theseus. An illustration of these circumstances is the article on Theseus in *LIMC*, which contains 322 items; 321 of these are depictions of Theseus' mythical exploits.[4] No. 322, a votive relief, seems in fact to be the only extant cultic representation of the hero (*fig. 41*).[5] Thus, if we are going to visualise the cult of Theseus, this relief constitutes our principal, if not our only, source.[6]

Although the relief can be identified as a cultic monument, the motif is not as unambiguous as it may appear initially. What does the relief show and what would have been the purpose of depicting this particular subject? In what sense does the relief refer to the cult of Theseus? What kind of ritual action, if any, is depicted here? The understanding of the relief is rendered difficult by its uniqueness. Therefore different possibilities of interpretation need to be explored by placing the relief into a wider iconographic and ritual context and by relating it to what we know of Theseus, his myth and his cult.

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149 who argue that the popularity of the hero was due to the promotion by Peisistratos and his sons. *Cf.* Neils 1994, 951; Neer 2002, 154–168; von den Hoff 2002.

[4] Neils 1994.

[5] Louvre Ma 743; Neils 1994, no. 322; Edelmann 1999, 111; *cf.* von den Hoff 2002, 331 and von den Hoff 2003, 33–35.

[6] There are two more reliefs, which have been suggested to depict Theseus as a figure of cult: 1) Venice, Museo archeologico 100 (Rouse 1902, 34; Tagalidou 1993, 239 no. 39 fig. 16; Comella 2002a, 95 fig. 90 Sconosciuta 37). A male, naked figure with a slender club, standing in front of a columnar building and approached by three worshippers and a bull, has been proposed to be Theseus rather than Herakles due to the lack of any lion skin. Bol 1971, 194 claims, however, that the head of the lion skin is clearly visible. The small shrine with Doric columns on a base constitutes a hallmark for a cult of Herakles, see Frickenhaus 1911, 117–118 and 132–133; Walter 1937; Woodford 1971, 213–214; Stafford 2005, 399–406. The relief has been extensively re-cut after antiquity, making its interpretation as linked to Theseus even more uncertain. 2) Museo Barracco, Rome 1114 (Tagalidou 1993, 238 no. 38 fig. 13; Comella 2002a, 120–121 fig. 120 Atene 177). This fragmentary relief represents a seated Herakles in front of his tetrastylon. Next to him stands a naked male of the *Diadoumenos* type and between him and Herakles is a large bull. The height of the naked man rules out him being a worshipper. His heroic stance and the bull make the identification with Theseus plausible.

The relief: Louvre Ma 743

The relief in question is today in the Louvre in Paris.[7] It consists of a square marble slab, 59 cm high and 58 cm wide, with a thickness of 7 cm. The back has been re-cut. Its exact find spot is not known, but it is said to have been found in Athens in 1840.[8]

On stylistic grounds the relief is dated to the early fourth century BCE and is judged to have been manufactured in Athens.[9] It is bordered by a simple moulding on the top and by an undecorated band at the bottom. Traces of colour were noted on the top moulding.[10] Three figures are represented: Theseus to the left and two worshippers on the right. Between them, on the ground, is a low, plain mound. An inscription to the right of Theseus' head reads (*fig. 42*):[11]

Θησεύς
Σώσιππος Ναυαρχίδο
ἀνέθηκεν

The figure of Theseus

The inscription identifies Theseus. He is of larger-than-life size, even rising higher than the field of the relief. He is naked apart from a *pilos*-helmet and a cloak tucked under his left arm, characteristic features of his iconography.[12] His right arm is raised, either with the intent to grasp the *pilos* in the manner found on representations of Athenian *hoplites* on gravestones, or as a gesture denoting his actual presence.[13] Judging from the position of his body, he was apparently leaning on a staff or perhaps a slender club, which must have been added in paint.[14]

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[7] Inv. no. Louvre Ma 743 (2647): Dugas – Flacelière 1958, 72–73 pl. 23; Neumann 1979, pl. 43b; Hamiaux 1992, 142 no. 135; von den Hoff 2002, 335 no. 222; Comella 2002a, 60–61 fig. 51 and 223 Sconosciuta 26; von den Hoff 2003, 33–35 and 46 fig. 33.

[8] The relief is reported as having been kept in the house of the Swedish Consul to Greece, Carl Peter von Heidenstam, see Ross 1845, 130. It was acquired by Philippe Le Bas in 1845 from Mr. Skene in Athens and given to the Ministre de l'Instruction publique, see Froehner 1865, 34–36 no. 23; Hamiaux 1992, 142.

[9] Hamiaux 1992, 142 no. 135; Edelmann 1999, 211 E 14; Comella 2002a, 60.

[10] Ross 1845, 130.

[11] *IG* II^2 4553.

[12] Brommer 1982b, 144–145; Neils 1994, 949–951; von den Hoff 2003, 34.

[13] Grasping the helmet: von den Hoff 2003, 34; Clairmont 1993, 281–282 no. 1.258 and 210 no. 2.279b. Denoting presence: von den Hoff 2002, 335.

[14] For the club, see red figure bell-crater, New York MMA 66.79, *ca.* 420 BCE, showing Tydeus, Aktaion, Theseus and Kastor (Neils 1994, no. 302). Plut. *Thes.* 8 states that

Many divinities seen on votive reliefs of the Classical period seem to echo contemporary important images of gods.[15] It is not known if there ever was a cult statue of Theseus in Athens but the manner in which Theseus is represented does not seem to evoke a statue of any kind. Depicted here is rather an apparition of the hero himself.[16] On the other hand, votive reliefs often took their inspiration from other major pieces of sculpture, and Theseus on the relief in the Louvre has close affinities with figure no. 11 on the east frieze of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, which shows a gathering of gods and divine figures (*fig. 43*).[17] Figure no. 11 unfortunately lacks his head and parts of the right arm, but the likeness in the posture of the body with Theseus on the Louvre relief has led some scholars to interpret the figure on the temple frieze as this hero, especially since he seems to be leaning against a thin club, one of Theseus' attributes.[18] However, other suggestions, such as a representation of Ares, Dionysos, Hephaistos, or Erechtheus, have also been forwarded.[19]

A direct inspiration from the frieze of the Nike temple does not have to be taken for granted as this particular posture, leaning forward on a staff and supporting the weight of the body on one leg while bending the other, is far from uncommon in Athenian art. From the late sixth century BCE

Theseus took the club from Periphetes in Epidauria after killing him and subsequently used this weapon to demonstrate his proficiency in fighting, just as Herakles wore his lion's skin with the same purpose.

[15] Suggested for reliefs showing Demeter and Kore, Athena, Artemis and Apollon, see Neumann 1979, 56–65.

[16] For the identification of a divinity versus a cult statue in Greek art, see Gladigow 1990; *cf.* Vernant 1985, 340–341 and 347–349. For the possibility of reliefs of heroes being used as cult images, see Deneken 1886–1890, 2580.

[17] Neumann 1979, 65; Comella 2002a, 61. On the frieze, see Pemberton 1972, pl. 62, fig. 6; Despinis 1974, pl. 8; Harrison 1997; Jenkins 2006, 116–107 fig. 105. The frieze is dated to the 420s BCE, see Harrison 1997, 109.

[18] For the interpretation of this figure as Theseus, see Blümel 1923, 13–14; Simon 1985–1986, 17–18; Harrison 1997, 111. *Cf.* Simon 1985–1986, 25–26 and Simon 1988, 71 who suggests that the theme of the Nike balustrade refers to the Theseia festival.

[19] Ares: Felten 1984, 129; Dionysos: Palagia 2005; Hephaistos or Erechtheus: Pemberton 1972, 309 since leaning on the staff is taken as a sign of the figure being lame; *cf.* Hurwit 1999, 212. One reason for rejecting the identification of figure no. 11 as Theseus has been that it would be unlikely that this hero would have been depicted among an assembly of the Olympian gods, see Simon 1985–1986, 18–19 who argues that his inclusion among the gods shows the scene being set not on the Olympos, where Theseus never was introduced, but is a depiction of the divinities of Attica.

onward, it was used in vase painting in a number of different contexts, such as sacrifice, courtship and scenes showing departing warriors.[20]

The worshippers

To the right are two worshippers of smaller size approaching the hero. The first one, who must be Sosippos, the dedicator of the relief, has a beard, is dressed in a *chiton* and a *himation* and raises his right arm in a gesture of prayer.[21] The fabric of the *himation* is arranged in an awkward manner around the waist, bulging horizontally without being attached or held in place. The choice of clothing, both a *himation* and a *chiton*, is not particularly common on votive reliefs, and mainly priests wear the long *chiton*.[22] Also Sosippos' left hand, hanging down along the left side of his body, echoes the priestly representations. Here a priest would have held the sacrificial knife, as is the case on a number of votive or funerary reliefs.[23] It has been suggested that Sosippos is grasping the folds of his himation.[24] The surface of the relief is somewhat damaged in the area to the left of the left hand but on the photograph provided by the Louvre, a faint outline of an oblong object can be observed as being held in the left hand, perhaps to be interpreted as a knife (*fig. 44*).[25] Inspection of the actual stone would hopefully resolve this matter. This was unfortunately impossible in 2007 and the question of Sosippos' possible priestly status, due to him holding a knife, is therefore best left open.[26]

Behind the man stands a smaller figure, a child or a youth, entirely wrapped in his himation with only the right hand sticking out, a common manner of dress for children on votive reliefs, indicating good behaviour and upbringing.[27] This is presumably Sosippos' son.[28] He is positioned just to the right hand edge of the relief and seems to be leaning his left arm against a pillar or perhaps a large *horos* stone, a posture occasionally found on other reliefs.[29] Possibly this part of the relief was less carefully worked or something has been cut away.[30]

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[20] See Hollein 1988, 17–24, who labels the posture the *skole*-type, interpreted to represent the aristocratic, inactive *arete*.

[21] van Straten 1981, 82–83; von den Hoff 2003, 35.

[22] See Edelmann 1999, 37.

[23] For representations of priests on reliefs, see Mantis 1990, 82–96; Scholl 1996, 247 no. 78. 317 no. 350. 341 no. 446; von den Hoff 2003. See also Eretria 631, mid-fourth century BCE (my *fig. 45*), Herakles, approached by a priest with a knife, a youth and an ox; see Tagalidou 1993, 252 no. 46 pl. 19; Georgoudi – Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 22 no. 90. On Sosippos' appearance as similar to that of priests, see von den Hoff 2003, 34–35.

[24] von den Hoff 2003, 35.

[25] Compare, for example, Mantis 1990, pl. 38a and 41c.

[26] At present, the relief has been removed to be included in an exhibition in China and will not be accessible until the end of 2009. For priests of Theseus, see *IG* II^2 2865, a dedication on a small, round marble altar, mid-second century BCE; *cf. IG* II^2 5076, marble throne of the priest of Theseus in the theatre of Dionysos, Hadrianic period. See also *IG* II^2 2832 (344 / 3 BCE), a dedication by a group of *hieropoioi* to Theseus.

The inscription

The inscription is interesting, since it mentions Theseus in the nominative, although the rest of the text complies with a typical dedication: "Sosippos, the son of Nauarchides, dedicated (this)" (*Sosippos Nauarchidou anetheken*). Theseus' name and the actual dedication are written on separate lines, slightly overlapping vertically, further underlining the difference between the two parts (*fig. 42*). Most votive dedications, if mentioning the deity, give the name of the divinity in the dative, or less frequently, in the genitive.[31] The use of the nominative places the monument in a different category than votive reliefs in general.[32]

Dedications in the nominative exist, though most of these consist solely of the name of the divinity, and such dedicatory formulae date mainly to the Archaic period, the sixth century BCE or earlier.[33] They are inscribed on the object in question, be it a vase, a figurine, a bronze object or an altar, clearly marking them as the property of the god. In the sanctuary of Apollon Karneios on Thera a series of early inscriptions of divine names in the nominative are found at rock-cut niches, which may have housed representations of the divinities named.[34]

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[27] Edelmann 1999, 38.

[28] For the dismissal of this figure as Akademos, the hero who betrayed Theseus to the Dioskouroi, see Kron 1981, 435 no. 3.

[29] Figures leaning against antae or pillars are not frequently shown and are mainly divinities, see a votive relief from Lamia (AE 1041), *ca.* 300 BCE, Artemis leaning her left arm on a pillar (van Straten 1995, no. R75bis fig. 88); a grave stele from Athens (Athens NM 794), late fifth – early fourth century BCE, youth next to pillar on which a hare sits (Kaltsas 2002, 165 no. 326); *cf.* the votive relief showing Athena looking at a large boundary stone (Akropolis museum 695), Hausmann 1960, 36 fig. 17.

[30] von den Hoff 2003, 33, suggests that the pillar has been removed.

[31] For the language of dedications, see Guarducci 1974, 254–285; Lazzarini 1976; Parker 2004, 274–276; *cf.* Rouse 1902, 325; Woodhead 1981, 41 for the scarcity of the nominative case of the name of the deity on votive dedications.

[32] Also the fact that there is an inscription places this relief in the minority, since most votive reliefs bear no such written dedications. Of the 111 votive reliefs included in van Straten's study (van Straten 1995) only 13 bear inscriptions.

[33] Naumann 1933, 4. 8. 73; Lazzarini 1976, 121 and 238–241 no. 444–461. A mid-sixth century BCE relief from Sparta (Lazzarini 1976, 239 no. 452) showing an enthroned, divine couple is inscribed Chilon, either referring to the man being heroised or the relief having been used as a grave relief (Lazzarini 1976, 239 no. 452; Neumann 1979, 21). For the use and meaning of names in the nominative on pillars in vase painting, see Moret 1979 (I thank Catherine Keesling for this reference).

Unfortunately we know nothing more of the dedicator, Sosippos, son of Nauarchides. Sosippos is not an uncommon Athenian name, and it is also found all over Greece in the Classical period.[35] Nauarchides is only evidenced in this particular instance.[36]

The mound

In the centre of the relief, between Theseus and Sosippos is a low, plain mound. This is a central feature of the relief, essential for its interpretation, and has not received the attention it deserves. The mound has usually been interpreted as an altar, since its shape is similar to that of mounds used for some kind of ritual activity on other votive reliefs, and its location between the divinity and the worshippers corresponds to that of the square altars most frequently shown on the reliefs.[37] That the mound would represent Theseus' grave or burial mound seems unlikely, since there is no tradition of such a monument nor any representations of burial mounds of this low height.[38]

The mound on the Theseus relief looks as if it is meant to represent something homogenous, a slab of stone or perhaps a heap of ash or soil. Chequered mounds on a group of Archaic black-figure vases are perhaps to be identified as ash-altars, but the appearance on a relief of an altar of that material is more difficult to determine.[39] A Roman relief from Miletos shows a smooth, cone shaped hill, apparently the highly particular altar of Apollon at Didyma, which Herakles constructed entirely out of the blood of sacrificial victims, according to Pausanias.[40] The most plausible interpretation of the mound on the Theseus relief is that it shows a flat, probably more or less unworked slab of stone.

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[34] Nilsson 1967, 206; Lazzarini 1976, 20 no. 455. This practice might be a Theran idiosyncrasy of dedicatory language, since there are also altars from this island inscribed with the deity's name in the nominative, see *IG* XII.3, 446–448. 1358. 1361; *cf.* Naumann 1933, 4, on the popularity of the nominative in Theran dedications.

[35] *LGPN* I–IV, s.v. Σώσιππος; Osborne – Byrne 1996, 63 no. 1480 (from Delphi).

[36] *LGPN* II, 325 s.v. Ναυαρχίδης.

[37] Dugas – Flacelière 1958, 72; Hamiaux 1992, 142 no. 135; Neils 1994, 949 no. 322; Edelmann 1999, 211 no. E 14; von den Hoff 2002, 335 no. 222; von den Hoff 2003, 34. For placement and function of the altars on the reliefs as an iconographical element elucidating the human action towards the divine, see Edelmann 1999, 164.

[38] For Theseus' bones being brought back to Athens in 475 BCE, see here n. 63. Burial mounds seem to have been substantially higher and often more *omphalos* or even egg shaped, especially those on the white-ground lekythoi, see Oakley 2004, 191–192 and 198; Boardman 1989, fig. 253 and 269.

[39] For the chequered mounds on the vase-paintings, see Carpenter 1984, 47–49; Ekroth 2001, 119 n. 17.

The mound as an altar

The simple appearance and low height of the mound have led to the suggestion that this is an *eschara*, a low altar especially used for the chthonian rituals of Greek heroes and distinct from the high altars, *bomoi*, of the Olympian gods.[41] Matters are, however, not that simple.

First of all, if we look carefully at the use of the term *eschara* in the Classical period, there is no support for labelling this mound an *eschara* and not a *bomos* due to its low height.[42] Secondly, there is no evidence for linking low altars of this shape and appearance to any particular kind of rituals, call them heroic or chthonian, which are distinct from the sacrifices to the gods.[43] Mound shape altars on the votive reliefs are shown in connection with both libations and preparations for animal sacrifice, the same kind of actions depicted as being performed at high, rectangular altars.[44] A mid-fourth century BCE relief from Eretria (*fig. 45*) depicts a priest, holding a knife, and a youth leading an ox towards Herakles, who is seated next to a low mound in front of a building with columns.[45] On a relief from Thasos, dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE, a heroine is shown pouring a libation into a bowl held by a hero with a horse (*fig. 46*).[46] Between them, on the ground, is a low mound.

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[40] Kekule von Stradonitz 1904, 787, third century CE. Paus. 5.13.11.

[41] See Deneken 1886–1890, 2497–2501 and fig. 1; von den Hoff 2002, 335 no. 222; Dugas – Flacelière 1958, 72; Herrmann 1959, 60–61; von den Hoff 2003, 34.

[42] In the Classical period the term *eschara* was used as an equivalent to *bomos* or referred to the upper part of a *bomos* where the fire was kept, see Ekroth 2001 and Ekroth 2002, 25–59.

[43] van Straten 1974, 185–187; van Straten 1988, 292; Machaira 2000; Ekroth 2001; Ekroth 2002, 25–59.

[44] Libation and animal sacrifice at a mound shaped altar: Thebes (inv. no. 62), *ca.* 350–300 BCE, van Straten 1995, no. R106 fig. 102. For the uses of high, rectangular altars, see van Straten 1995, fig. 57–65.

[45] Eretria 631, *ca.* 340 BCE: Themelis 1982, 173 pl. 107b; Tagalidou 1993, 252 no. 46 fig. 19; Comella 2002a, 211 Eretria 1.

[46] Thasos (inv. no. 31), *ca.* 350–300 BCE: Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 259–260 no. 30 fig. 200; *cf.* Machaira 2000, 340.

If we turn briefly to the vase paintings, there are several instances of mound shaped altars being used for regular *thysia* sacrifices, a particularly clear example being a red figure amphora of Panathenaic shape, now in Harvard.[47] A youth is holding an oinochoe, while a priest dressed in an elaborate *ependytes* performs a libation on a low mound. On top of this altar, curving in the fire lies the *osphys*—the back part of the basin and the tail of the sacrificial victim—, which was burnt for the gods at a *thysia*.[48]

The only relief with a mound shaped feature, which seems to evoke a ritual different than a *thysia*, shows Demeter and Kore at a low mound with a depression in the centre (*fig. 47*).[49] This mound is probably not an altar but a *megaron*, the pit into which piglets would be deposited at the Thesmophoria or during the initiation to the Mysteries at Eleusis, an interpretation strengthened by the so-called Lovatelli urn, which actually shows the piglet being stuffed into the hole.[50]

The mound on the Theseus relief can certainly represent an altar but it is to be identified as a variant of the regular *bomos*. Its shape, however, is unusual and therefore needs further examination. Most altars seen on reliefs are rectangular or square or occasionally cylindrical. They seem to represent either monolithic cut blocks or constructions built of slabs of stone and are usually crowned by some kind of mouldings.[51] The mound shaped altars, which can be low and flat or high and *omphalos* or egg shaped, clearly differ in both shape and appearance from the square altars. So also do the altars shown as having been constructed of loose, often large, fieldstones.[52] To consider the mound altars and the fieldstone altars on the reliefs as two clear-cut categories is to push the evidence too far, as there are clear overlaps between them visually.[53] Still, altars shaped as mounds or built of fieldstones can be considered as one group, which is distinct from the square altars.

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[47] Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums 1960.371; Group of Polygnotos, *ca*. 420 BCE: Neils 2004.

[48] Other examples of low mounds in *thysia* settings can be added, such an oinochoe in Kiel (55 B), *cf*. van Straten 1995, no. V382 fig. 168, and a bell-crater in the Vatican (17924), *cf*. van Straten 1995, no. V206 fig. 144; see also Ekroth 2001.

[49] Catania, Museo Civico, no number, end of fifth century BCE: Libertini 1937; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 112 fig. 35; Comella 2002a, 93 fig. 88 Catania 1.

[50] For the use of *megara*, see Clinton 1988; Clinton 1992, 63 and 112. Lovatelli urn: Rome, Museo Nazionale 11301, first half of first century CE: Mylonas 1961, fig. 83.

[51] See, for example, van Straten 1995, fig. 57–65. 71. 75. 77. 80–82. 85–86. 88–92. 96. 100–101. 107–108. Also in vase painting, the square altars dominate, see Ekroth 2001; Aktseli 1996.

[52] No exhaustive collection of the evidence has been made (*cf*. van Straten 1974, 185–187) and I plan to treat the mound shaped and fieldstone altars on the reliefs more fully elsewhere. For mound shaped and fieldstone altars in vase painting, see Aktseli 1996, 18–19 and 109–111; Ekroth 2001; Gebauer 2002, 522–524.

The clear majority of the mound or fieldstone altars are found on votive reliefs dedicated to the Nymphs, Pan, and Acheloos. Often the entire relief is worked as a cave with large rock outcroppings on which the deities are seated.[54] Such altars are also found on reliefs dedicated to Herakles, anonymous heroes accompanied by horses, Pankrates, Zeus Meilichios, and Kybele.[55] These reliefs, around twenty-five in all, date to the late fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Most come from Athens and Attica, but there are occasional examples from Thebes, Eretria, Andros, and Thasos.

The mound or fieldstone altars are few in number, and it is tempting to imagine that the shape was depicted for a particular reason at certain instances, instead of the more common, rectangular altars. Although mound or fieldstone altars cannot be explained by them evoking a particular kind of ritual, it is possible that they could have functioned as markers of a particular setting or character of the cult. Perhaps such altars were considered as being older and more venerable than the square altars, a hypothesis strengthened by the context of the fieldstone altars on the vases, which are only found in scenes showing sacrifices set in the mythic past.[56] As such they may have been linked to a particular topographic location, which was signalled by the use of these unusual altar shapes. However, few of the reliefs have any additional distinguishing features that allow us to verify this suggestion. For example, the reliefs dedicated to the Nymphs and Pan set in a cave frame cannot by the iconography be linked to a specific cave, such as the cult place of Pan at Vari, the Pentelikon cave or the cave on the north slope of the Acropolis.[57] The only votive relief with an unusual altar, which seems to depict a particular location is an Attic example, now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome, showing a hero with his horse at a high, mound shaped altar, in a setting usually considered to represent the South Slope of the Acropolis at Athens.[58] The connection between this relief and the South Slope has, however, not been made on the basis of the mound shaped altar but on the presence of the divinities worshipped here.[59]

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[53] Compare, for example, the low, fairly smooth, fieldstone altar on a fourth century BCE hero-relief in Athens (National Museum 1410: Cermanović-Kuzmanović *et al.* 1992, 1027 no. 45) and the high, slightly wobbly mound on a Nymph-relief, the latter probably a simplified version of a fieldstone altar, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.59, *ca.* 325–300 BCE: Isler 1981 23 no. 180; Vikela 2004, 284 no. 56.

[54] See, for example, Isler 1981 23 no. 174. 176. 177. 186. 188. 192, all cave frame, and no. 180, rectangular frame but fieldstone altar; *cf.* Isler 1970, 19–25 and 30. On the cave framing of the reliefs, see Güntner 1994, 12–16.

[55] Herakles: Tagalidou 1993, no. 46 pl. 19. no. 33 pl. 14. no. 45 pl. 20. Anonymous hero: van Straten 1974, no. A5. A6. A8. A9. A19. Pankrates: Vikela 1994, A16. A20. B12. Zeus Meilichios: van Straten 1974, no. B28. Kybele: Walter 1938, 54 fig. 22; Steinhauer 2001, 236 fig. 325. The flat, cylindrical mound on the Kybele relief may perhaps rather represent a *tympanon* of the kind often shown in reliefs dedicated to this goddess than an altar, *cf.* Steinhauer 2001, fig. 322 and 324, or a low *kiste*, as a *tympanon* would not be lying on the ground.

[56] Hooker 1950; Gebauer 2002, 522–523; Ekroth forthcoming. The mound-shaped altars still need to be investigated from this point of view.

It is also possible that the shape and appearance of these altars were meant to suggest that the cult did not take place in an elaborate sanctuary of a more formal kind. An *ad hoc* altar made up of a large boulder or of a heap of stones goes well with the rustic cave setting of the Nymph, Pan, and Acheloos reliefs. Herakles, the heroes in general, and Zeus Meilichios could also have their cults set in a more simple environment where such less elaborate altars would fit in. The same goes for Pankrates, whose Athenian sanctuary seems to have consisted of an open courtyard with a simple building.[60]

The mound and fieldstone altars do not lend themselves to a generic explanation, and we have to remember that all of these deities were frequently presented on votive reliefs with square altars as well.[61] Still, at some occasions it may have been desired to depict a different kind of altar, perhaps as a sign for the cult being located outside traditional sanctuaries, perhaps referring to its rustic, simple setting or it having an altar, which was considered as particularly ancient or had mythical connotations.

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[57] For the cave as a frame of Nymph reliefs, see Wegener 1985, 139–156 and Güntner 1994, 12–16. This sort of framing seems not to have developed before the early fourth century BCE, *cf*. Wegener 1985, 149.

[58] Deubner 1943, 134 fig. 1; Beschi 1967–1968a, 515–516 fig. 2, identifying the hero as Hippolytos; Wegener 1985, 131–133; Riethmüller 1999, 142–143; Comella 2002a, 53 fig. 40 Roma 3. The most famous case of a relief referring to a particular topography is the sumptuous monument of Telemachos, dedicated to commemorate his involvement in the introduction of the cult of Asklepios to Athens, see Beschi 1967–1968b; Beschi 1982; van Straten 1995, 70–71.

[59] Beschi 1967–1968b, 516 and Comella 2002a, 221 identify the deities as Asklepios, Aphrodite and the image of Themis, while Riethmüller 1999, 143 proposes Dionysos, Asklepios, and Aphrodite or Themis. On the vases, when painting an altar of unusual shape, the artist may occasionally have had a particular location in mind. A red figure cup in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum 1911.617) shows a *thysia* sacrifice at a very low volute altar, which may depict a low altar on the Athenian Agora, the so-called *eschara*, being used for a state sacrifice, see Ekroth forthcoming.

[60] Vikela 1994, 1–2 and Beilage 2.

[61] A good illustration is the Pankrates sanctuary where 11 reliefs with square altars have been found and three with fieldstone altars, see Vikela 1994, no. A1. A4. A5. A7. A9. A10. A15. A18. B2. B6. B7 (square altars) and A16. A20. B12 (fieldstone altars).

If we consider the mound in the Theseus relief to be an altar consisting of a large stone, it might depict a particular altar found in one of the Theseia in Athens. Unfortunately, next to nothing is known of these sanctuaries and it is even disputed when the cult of Theseus was instituted in Athens.[62] A privately administered cult may have existed already in the Archaic period, but after Kimon brought back the hero's bones in 475 BCE, a state cult was definitely founded with its own festival, the Theseia, and Theseus came to be involved in a number of other major Athenian festivals.[63]

His principal sanctuary was in the middle of the city near the *gymnasion* of Ptolemy and near the Archaic Agora, to the northeast of the Acropolis (*fig. 48*). Its location is fairly well established from the literary mentions as well as the recovery in this area of Hellenistic ephebic inscriptions to be placed in this Theseion, but no physical remains have yet been discovered.[64] The precinct must have been large, as it could be used for gatherings of large numbers of Athenians.[65] It apparently housed both a colonnade with wall paintings of Theseus' mythical exploits and a shrine of some kind for the hero's bones.[66] There is no information on an altar or a sacrificial installation, but it seems unlikely that it would have consisted of a simple stone slab of the kind as shown on the Louvre relief, considering the scale and importance of this prestigious sanctuary, where

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[62] On the cult of Theseus and its origins, see Herter 1973, 1223–1231; Kearns 1989, 117–124 and 168–169; Garland 1992, 93–98; Walker 1995, 20–24; Parker 1996, 168–170.

[63] For the transferral of Theseus' bones, see Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 36.1–4; Pfister 1909–1912, 198–200; Podlecki 1971; Walker 1995, 56–59; McCauley 1999. For the Theseia festival, see Parke 1977, 81–82; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 136–139; Parker 1996, 168–170; Parker 2005, 483–484. On Theseus' involvement with Athenian festivals such as the Oschophoria, Pyanopsia, Kybernesia, and Hekalesia, see Deubner 1966, 225–226; Parke 1977, 77–81; Calame 1990; Connor 1996; Parker 1996, 169–170; Michalson 1998, 250–253; Parker 2005, 375 and 380–383.

[64] For the written sources, see Wycherley 1957, 113–119. The location of the Archaic Agora and the Prytaneion, Anakeion, and Theseion has been intensively discussed in recent years. For the position of the Theseion, see Dontas 1983, 57–63; Robertson 1992, 43–48; Shear 1994, 228 and 226 fig. 1 = my *fig. 48*; Miller 1995, 209–211 and 243 fig. 1; Robertson 1998, 295–298; Luce 1998, 12 and 14–19; Papadopoulos 2003, 282–285.

[65] Thuk. 6.61.2; Aischin. *In Ctes*. 13 (Thesmothetai); Robertson 1986, 165.

[66] For the layout of the Theseion, see Barron 1972, esp. 20–22.

Plutarch says magnificent processions and sacrifices took place.[67] Apart from the Theseion at the Archaic Agora there were at least three other Theseia in Athens, all known from the written sources—in the Piraeus, by the Long Walls, and at the Kolonos Hippios—but virtually nothing is known about their layouts.[68]

The mound as a stone

The relief could have been dedicated in any of the Athenian Theseia, though probably in the Theseion near the Archaic Agora, as this was the main sanctuary. There is nothing, which definitely ties the relief to any of these sanctuaries, however, and the mound does not have to depict an altar at any of these cult places even though the relief was once displayed there. If we focus on another aspect of the mound, the fact that it seems to represent a large stone, this opens up alternative possibilities of understanding the motif.

A large stone could of course be used as an altar, though far from all prominent stones known from antiquity had an altar function.[69] The question is in what sense a stone would be suitable in a votive relief showing Theseus. If we look at his myth, there are, in fact, several important stones.[70] The first is the *agelastos petra*, "the mirthless rock", at Eleusis, on which Theseus sat before his decent into Hades.[71] This stone figures prominently in the sacred topography of Eleusis, since Demeter sat down here when she arrived at the sanctuary for the first time. The iconography of the *agelastos petra* is quite different from the stone on the Theseus relief, depicted either as a high, rocky seat or as a more stylised *omphalos*.[72] A second rock of interest is the one on which Theseus was invited to sit when visiting Hades together with Peirithoos at their attempt to carry off Persephone.[73] After sitting down, none of the heroes could get up, and according to some sources the stones even began devouring their flesh. Herakles eventually rescued Theseus. The man-eating stone seat is, however, usually shown as high and bulging.[74]

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[67] Plut. *Thes*. 36.2. The cult of Theseus seems to have increased in importance and scale in the second century BCE, see Mikalson 1998, 249–253.

[68] Koumanoudes 1976; Kearns 1989, 168–169. Surprisingly no evidence for cults of Theseus has come to light in northeast Attica, a region to which the hero was intimately linked in myth. For the absence of cults outside Athens, see Walker 1995, 12–16.

[69] On the various uses of sacred stones, see Pfister 1909–1912, 364–365; Bruns 1960; Kron 1992.

[70] Stones occur as prominent landscape motifs in the iconography of Theseus' eventful journey from Troizen to Athens. Neils 1987, 147 proposes that the high rock of Skiron, the long, low stone bed of Prokrustes, and the stone slab covering the sword and sandals left by Aigeus at Troizen are all rendered with a consistency that suggests that the artist had particular and real locales in mind just as the written sources indicate.

[71] *Schol. Aristoph. Eq*. 785a (Koster), *cf*. Clinton 1992, 16 with n. 14 and 37. For Theseus at Eleusis, see also Clinton 1992, 43.

A stone of greater interest for the understanding of the Theseus relief is the stone, which plays a central part in Theseus' discovery of his origin. After his father Aigeus had impregnated his mother Aithra at Troizen, he hid his sword and his sandals under a huge stone. He instructed Aithra to show the stone to his son when he was old and strong enough, so that the boy would lift the stone and by the objects deposited there, the *gnorismata*, he would know where to go and look for his father. In antiquity, the rock itself was a revered landmark and according to Pausanias it was originally an altar to Zeus Sthenios (Zeus of the Strength), which had later been renamed into πέτρα Θησέως, "Theseus' rock".[75]

The discovery of the *gnorismata* is shown on five Attic red figure vases, on which the stone is represented as an oblong stone slab.[76] The earliest depiction dates from around 470–460 BCE, and the introduction of the motif has been suggested to be a response to the importance of Troizen in sheltering the Athenian civilian population when the Persians attacked Athens in 480 BCE.[77] When Pausanias visited the Athenian Acropolis, he saw a statue of Theseus lifting the stone, all made of bronze apart from the stone itself. The date of this statue has been disputed, but it might have been raised as a part of the commemorations of the Troizenian contribution to Athens, a process that also led to the city actually acknowledging the hero's non-Athenian birthplace.[78] The somewhat awkward situation, that the Athenian national hero Theseus had not been born in Athens but was an immigrant from Troizen, may have been overcome by focusing on the *gnorismata* story and thereby establishing Theseus' Athenian ancestry.

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[72] Clinton 1992, 121–123. Kevin Clinton's careful analysis of the site's topography and the evidence has now identified the *agelastos petra* with a flat, rock seat or shelf within the cave on the right-hand side on the way to the Telesterion. It has to be separated from the "sacred stone", a low, smooth stone, seen on some vase-paintings and referred to in inscriptions from Eleusis as a sacred object carried around in processions. A hydria in Kerch style (Athens NM 1443) shows Demeter seated on a higher, somewhat irregular rock-seat, while Dionysos apparently sits on the sloping ground, next to the low *hieros lithos*, see Clinton 1992, 121–123 and fig. 56–57.

[73] Neils 1994, 946. For Theseus in Hades, see Herter 1973, 1158 and 1161; Felten 1975, 46–64; Mills 1997, 10–13.

[74] See, for example, a red figure lekythos in Berlin (inv. no. 30035, *ca.* 460 BCE, Alkimachos Painter): Felten 1975, 48–50 fig. 17; Neils 1994 no. 294, *cf.* also no. 296; Walker 1995, 18; Brommer 1982b, fig. 43.

[75] Paus. 2.32.7; *cf.* Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 101–103.

[76] Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 103–104; Neils 1987, 122–123 and 137–141; Neils 1994, no. 17–19; Servadei 2005, 23–24. Sourvinou-Inwood 1971 has argued that an early red figure cup in Athens (National Museum 18722, *ca.* 510–500 BCE) also depicts Theseus lifting the stone, a claim refuted by Neils 1994, 925 no. 22 and Servadei 2005, 24.

[77] See Shapiro 1982; Neils 1987, 122–123; Servadei 2005, 23–24. For the evacuation of the Athenians, see Hdt. 8.41 and the so-called Troizen decree, though probably

The lifting of the stone is also shown on a second century BCE relief recovered from the South Slope of the Athenian Acropolis from where it apparently must have fallen (*fig. 49*).[79] The relief crowns a honorary decree, which reaffirms that an individual named Telesias from Troizen was an Athenian citizen due to citizenship having been given to his ancestors.[80] This representation is unique among document reliefs, as it is the only surviving example of a mythological narrative within this category of monuments.[81]

Telesias' choice of motive on the relief is highly interesting. Just as Theseus, born in Troizen, eventually became an Athenian, Telesias' ancestors had once been granted citizenship in Athens. The depiction of the hero discovering the *gnorismata* under the stone evokes both Telesias' Troizenian origin and the link between Troizen and Athens created by Theseus. Moreover, the motif also brings to mind the fact that it was by lifting the stone that Theseus eventually came to be recognised as an Athenian, just as the decree constitutes a reaffirmation of Telesias' own citizen status in Athens. On the Telesias relief, Theseus' exploit can be said to illustrate the naturalization of a foreigner in a symbolic manner.[82]

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inscribed in the first half of the third century BCE, see Jameson 1960; Jameson 1962; Dow – Jameson 1962; Meiggs – Lewis 1988, no. 23; *cf.* Walker 1995, 55.

[78] For the statue, see Paus. 1.27.8; *cf.* Shapiro 1982, 293–295 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 108 suggesting a date around 475 BCE for the erection. Neils 1994, 925 no. 21 proposes a Hellenistic date.

[79] Athens, EM 8043 + 8044 + 8045; *IG* II^2 971; Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 104 no. II.2; Osborne 1981, 213 no. D102; Osborne 1982, 189 no. D102; Meyer 1989, 315 no. C2; Neils 1994, 925 no. 20; Lawton 1995, 157 no. 187 pl. 96; Osborne – Byrne 1996, 309 no. 7170. This motif is also depicted on the Heroon at Gjölbaschi-Trysa as well as on Roman reliefs and coins, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 104–105; Brommer 1982b, fig. 17b; Neils 1994, no. 24–29.

[80] The citizenship was granted in *ca.* 307–301 BCE, while the re-enactment, *i.e.* the decree honouring Telesias, dates to 140 / 39 BCE, see Osborne 1983, 85 and 153.

[81] Lawton 1995, 55 and 157.

[82] See Connor 1996, 118–120, for the myth of Theseus as an expression of the Athenian desire and need for integrating outsiders into the community; *cf.* Walker 1995, 83–111.

If we turn back to the Theseus relief, could the stone depicted here be identified as the *gnorismata* stone or as alluding to it in some sense? At first sight this seems excluded, since the relief in the Louvre shows the stone as lying on the ground untouched, contrary to the *gnorismata* scenes, where the actual overturning of the stone is the essential element. However, the wording of the dedication should be considered in this context.

The name and the *patronymikon* of the dedicator are given, Sosippos, son of Nauarchides, but no *demotikon*. What does the lack of demotic mean? Could it indicate that Sosippos was not an Athenian? In connection with his democratic reforms, Kleisthenes prescribed that all citizens were to use their *demotikon* as part of their name.[83] Although this was not universally adopted, there is an increase of the use of the *demotikon* by private individuals in the generation following the reforms, especially in the dedications.[84] In the later fifth century BCE, the use of both patronymic and demotic seems to have been the full Athenian name, in particular after Perikles' citizenship laws in 451/50, and even more so after their re-enactment in 403/2. In the fourth century BCE, the *tria nomina* had become standard citizen nomenclature.[85]

As our relief is dated to the early fourth century BCE, it is tempting to see the absence of the demotic as indicating that Sosippos was in fact not an Athenian.[86] Reliefs, dedicated in Athenian sanctuaries, which do not mention the demotics of the dedicators, have been interpreted as dedications made by non-Athenians, metics, or even slaves.[87] If Sosippos' name reflects the fact that he was not an Athenian by birth, the motif of Theseus and the stone under which the *gnorismata* were hidden could have been chosen with this circumstance in mind, perhaps to commemorate the process of him being naturalised, just as Theseus, the most famous of all foreigners to become a true Athenian.[88] The motif of Theseus may have been particularly suitable in this context, as one function of his cult seems to have been to integrate outsiders into the Athenian community.[89]

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[83] [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 21.4; Whitehead 1986, 69–73.

[84] Whitehead 1986, 70; Raubischek – Jeffery 1949 (1999), 475–476.

[85] Rhodes 1981, 254; Whitehead 1986, 71–72. For the citizenship law, see Patterson 1988.

[86] The name Sosippos is common outside Athens as well, see *LGPN* I. IIIA. IIIB. IV, s.v. Σώσιππος.

[87] Neumann 1979, 74. A relief now in Berlin, dated to the late fourth century BCE, was dedicated to the Nymphs and gods by a group of washers, some of the dedicators giving their *patronymika*, while others only their names (Staatliche Museen 709: Comella 2002a, 116–117 fig. 117. 203 Atene 156; *IG* II^2 2934).

[88] A naturalised foreigner would eventually have been registered in a deme and given its demotic, see Haussoullier 1884, 30.

On the other hand, there was clearly a certain inconsistency in the application of the demotic that makes it difficult to use the name by itself as conclusive evidence of a dedicator's status.[90] Of 223 stone dedications made at the Athenian Asklepieion, 73 preserve the demotics well enough to be read, but in a significant number of cases, the demotics were probably never inscribed.[91] To what extent the lack of the demotic in these instances has any bearing of the status of these dedicants is hard to tell and the same conclusion has to be drawn about Sosippos, son of Nauarchides. The connection between the mound and the *gnorismata* stone has to remain an inference.

The Horkomosion *and the* Lithos

Finally, a passage in the principal source on Theseus' life, Plutarch's biography of the hero, is to be considered in this context. Towards the end of his account, Plutarch speaks of various monuments and landmarks connected with the war Theseus waged against the Amazons. The fighting was ended with a treaty (*spondai*) at a location beside the Theseion called the *Horkomosion*.[92] The location of this site is unknown and depends on where the Theseion and the Archaic Agora are to be placed in the area to the northeast of the Acropolis (*fig. 48*).[93] *Horkomosion* means "the site where oaths are taken", and it has been suggested that it was the same location where Pausanias said that Theseus and Peirithoos took an oath to confirm their friendship.[94] Neither Plutarch, nor Pausanias, offers any description of what the *Horkomosion* could have looked like. There is, however, another well-known Athenian spot where oaths were taken, the *Lithos*, which could provide us with a notion of the appearance of the *Horkomosion*.

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[89] See Walker 1995, 83–111; Connor 1996, 118–120. The Theseion was also an asylum for run-away slaves and other suppliants, see Rigsby 1996, 86–89 for sources and commentary.

[90] On the uses of the demotic, see Reinmuth 1948, 212–213; Rhodes 1981, 254–255; Whitehead 1986, 69–72; Winters 1993. See also the mixed name forms in *IG* II^2 2345, a catalogue of contributors from a *thiasos*. Neither the absence of the demotic on tombstones has to signify a lowly or foreign status, see Osborne – Byrne 1996, xxv n. 8. On the uncertainty of deciding metic or slave status based on the name alone, in particular the lack of *patronymikon*, see Bömer 1961, 438–439.

[91] Aleshire 1989, 53, see *e.g. IG* II^2 4372. Sara Aleshire's study (p. 54) of the material has shown that it is unjustified to take dedications recording the dedicants demotics as an indication of a higher social status than those lacking the demotics.

[92] Plut. *Thes*. 27.7; *cf.* Wycherley 1957, 117 no. 354; Robertson 1998, 284. On the topographical interest of Plutarch in his *Theseus*, see Frost 1984. A *horkomosion* is mentioned also in the sacrificial calendar from Thorikos, though there referring to the sacrificial victim to be used when an oath was taken, see Daux 1983, 153–154 l. 12 and 52; *cf.* also Daux 1984.

[93] For suggestions of the localisation of the *Horkomosion*, see Herter 1973, 1163; Shear 1994, 244 and 226 fig. 1 = my *fig. 48*; Luce 1998, 11–12. 14–15. 21.

In the Athenian Agora, in front of the Stoa Basileios, lies a large crude limestone slab, measuring 0.95 m by 2.95 m (*fig. 50*). Considering its location, this stone must be ὁ Λίθος, "the Stone", a monument mentioned by the ancient sources as the place where the archons stood when taking the oath to respect the laws of Athens and not to take bribes.[95] Animal victims, usually a bull, a ram, and a boar, were cut up and the pieces placed on the stone, and on these parts, the *tomia*, the oath takers would stand. In a sense, the *Lithos* functioned as an altar.[96] The *Lithos* seems originally to have been placed in the Archaic Agora, near the Prytaneion, but was moved and placed in front of the Stoa Basileios, the official building of the Archon Basileus, when the new Agora was established.[97]

I would suggest that the *Horkomosion*, being an ancient site for oaths and treaties, may have been a stone, just as the *Lithos*, and that this could be the stone depicted on the Theseus relief. It is unlikely that the stone on the relief actually depicts the *Lithos* itself, since there is no evidence for a link between this monument and Theseus, nor between the Royal Stoa and the hero, apart from the fact that the building was crowned by two acroteria, one of which showed Theseus struggling with Skiron.[98]

The origin of the *Lithos* is unknown, but E. Vermeule suggested that it could have been the lintel block of a now destroyed Mycenaean tholos tomb, while J. Papadopoulos has recently proposed that it was a threshold of a Mycenean gate to the Acropolis.[99] A prehistoric origin would certainly have increased the appeal of the *Lithos* as a highly charged symbolic feature. If the *Horkomosion* also was a stone it may have been a Bronze Age relic as well. As such it may have been venerated and referred to in later times in the narrative surrounding Theseus, anchoring his myth in the Athenian topography, just as the stone once covering the *gnorismata* was shown to Pausanias in an olive grove near Hermione, as late as the second century CE.[100]

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[94] Paus. 1.18.4; Herter 1973, 1163; Luce 1998, 11–12; Robertson 1998, 284; *cf.* Robertson 1986, 165 n. 40, more uncertain.

[95] [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 7.1; Plut. *Sol.* 25.2; Poll. *Onom.* 8.86; *cf.* Wycherley 1957, 21 no. 9 and 25 no. 21. For the archaeological remains, see Shear 1971, 259–260 pl. 47 and 50d; Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 88; Camp 1986, 101–104 fig. 75 and 76; Kron 1992, 66.

[96] Shear 1994, 244, calls the *Lithos* a "civic altar".

[97] For the location of the Archaic Agora, see Dontas 1983, 57–63; Robertson 1986, 157–168; Shear 1994; Miller 1995; Schnurr 1995a; Schnurr 1995b; Kenzler 1997; Papadopoulos 2003; Goette – Hammerstaedt 2004, 87–98; Schmaltz 2006. For the transferral of the *Lithos*, see Shear 1994, 244–245. The date of the move of the Agora has been disputed, Shear 1994 suggests around 500 BCE in connection to the democratic reforms of Kleisthenes, while Papadopoulos 2003 argues for a date after the Persian wars, that is, just after 480 BCE.

[98] Paus. 1.3.1–3; *cf.* Wycherley 1957, 24 no. 16.

What does the relief show and why was it made?

I have suggested that that mound represents a stone, which could be identified as an altar, but also as the *Horkomosion*, a stone mythically linked to Theseus.

The question remains why Sosippos for his dedication to Theseus would choose the representation of the hero, with himself and his son present at this particular landmark. The close connection between Theseus and Sosippos on the relief is evident, but what kind of connection is it? A number of votive reliefs represent the divinity and the worshippers as recognising each other's presence by gestures, body language, and eye contact in the manner seen here.[101] The fact that Theseus' name is written in the nominative instead of the dative in the inscription emphasises the close connection between the dedicator and the divinity. However, this use of the name also suggests that the hero is perceived as being actually present, an impression which is strengthened by "Theseus" being inscribed next to the hero's head on a separate line distinct from the rest of the dedication (*fig. 42*).[102] The unusual gesture of raising the hand to the helmet can been taken as a further sign of him appearing in front of the worshippers.[103] The indication of Theseus' presence by such measures supports the suggestion that the stone represents a particular monument connected to the hero, such as the *Horkomosion*.

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[99] Papadopoulos 2003, 291–292. On the antiquity of the veneration of stones, see Kron 1992.

[100] Paus. 2.23.7. The actual *Horkomosion* does not have to have been present at Athens in Plutarch's time, he may report an ancient tradition. Robertson 1998, 284 n. 8 suggests, however, that Plutarch has taken his information on the *Horkomosion* from Kleidemos (mid-fourth century BCE).

[101] Neumann 1979, 53 and 71; Edelmann 1999, 154–166; *cf.* Hausmann 1960, 34–40, on the concept of *Daseinsbild*.

[102] See von den Hoff 2003, 33–34.

[103] von den Hoff 2002, 335 no. 222.

One reason for dedicating the relief can of course be found in the importance of Theseus for Athens and Athenian religion in general.[104] Private expressions of worship of Theseus are surprisingly few, a fact which has been explained by the significance of this hero for the whole of the Athenian state.[105] He was the focus of collective rather than individual worship and functioned as a symbol of the communal identity of Athens. Still, the relief was clearly a private undertaking, an expression of piety commemorating a personal event of Sosippos, the dedicator.[106] It cannot be linked to any official celebrations of the cult of Theseus, such as the Theseia.

A number of votive reliefs show a child or children being presented to a deity, presumably with the intent of receiving divine protection.[107] It has been suggested that Sosippos had the relief made with the intent of placing his son under Theseus' protection, as the composition of the motif is similar to that of a series of votive reliefs showing a man presenting a youth to Herakles.[108] One of the closest parallels for the Theseus relief is in fact the relief from Eretria (*fig. 45*) showing a priest introducing a youth to Herakles who is seated next to a low mound very similar to the one on the Theseus relief.[109] The reliefs of Herakles receiving a man and a youth have been interpreted as commemorations of the entry of the young man into the ephebic age. A dedication to Theseus made with a similar intent would certainly be fitting, as this hero had a particular link with the *ephebeia* and was even seen as the embodiment of this institution and as the ultimate ephebe.[110]

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[104] Edelmann 1999, 111 puts the dedication in connection with Theseus' importance as an Attic national hero.

[105] Kron 1976, 244; von den Hoff 2003, 35. This has also been seen as the reason why he was not chosen to be one of the tribal heroes after Kleisthenes' reforms.

[106] Herter 1939, 322. Votive reliefs, at least in the fourth century BCE, were mainly directed to divinities concerned with the protection of private life, health, and fertility, such as Asklepios and other healing heroes, Artemis Brauronia, the gods at Eleusis, and Zeus Meilichios and Philios, see Neumann 1979, 54. There are also a number of reliefs to Herakles and to unnamed heroes.

[107] Edelmann 1999, 104–112; Klöckner 2006, 143–144; Lawton 2007.

[108] Comella 2002b, 239–244 inserts the Louvre relief into this series, *cf.* Edelmann 1999, 107; Comella 2002a, 60–61.

[109] Eretria 631: Themelis 1982, 173 pl. 107b; Tagalidou 1993, 252 no. 46 pl. 19; Comella 2002a, 211. Eretria 1. Although found in Eretria, the relief is stylistically almost indistinguishable from Attic examples and may even derive from Athens, see Auberson – Schefold 1972, 170. On the *ephebeia* in Eretria, see Tagalidou 1993, 43–44; Rhodes – Osborne 2003, 364, the creation of a new *ephebeia* probably in the 330's or 320's BCE.

But the stone may have been present in the relief in order to make the association with the *ephebeia* more apparent. In connection with the *ephebeia*, the Athenian youths would sacrifice the so-called *eisiteteria* in the Prytaneion and give their oath of loyalty at the Aglaureion.[111] The location of the Prytaneion is still unknown, but the sanctuary of Aglauros has been securely situated on the east side of the Acropolis by the finding of a decree *in situ* (*fig. 48*).[112] However, according to the written sources both the Aglaureion and the Prytaneion were located near the Theseion and consequently also near the *Horkomosion*. The precise size and layout of the Aglaureion has not been established and the presence of altars or oath-stones can therefore only be inferred. If, however, the ephebic oath was taken at a stone, in analogy with the use of the *Lithos* by the archons, it is tempting to suggest that the *Horkomosion*, the oath stone of Theseus, may in some sense have been associated with the Aglaureion, perhaps even as an annex to this sanctuary.[113] If the relief commemorates Sosippos' son being about to reach the ephebic age, the stone shown in the centre could, in some manner, be connected with these activities, especially the ephebic oath in the Aglaureion. The physical presence of the stone on the relief would allude not only to the introduction into the *ephebeia*, but also to the rituals connected with this event.[114]

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[110] Pélékidis 1962, 68–69; Calame 1990, 186–192; Wilkins 1990, 334–335; Walker 1995, 94–104. The date of the introduction of the *ephebeia* has been disputed but it seems to have been in existence at least in the first half of the fourth century BCE and probably much earlier, though undergoing reforms in the early Lykourgan period, see Reinmuth 1952; Pélékidis 1962, 71–79; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 97–99 and 196–122; Parker 1996, 253; Barringer 2001, 47–53. Theseus' struggle against various opponents can be interpreted as a symbol of the institution of the *ephebeia*, see Stewart 1997, 139. Edelmann 1979, 111 points out that the Theseus relief is unusual, since the youth is placed far out to the left, at the edge of the scene, as compared to the numerous votive reliefs, which emphasize the role of the children by placing them in the centre, between the divinity and the adult worshippers.

[111] For the sacrifice on the public hearth in the Prytaneion, see *IG* II^2 1006 l. 6–9 (122/1 BC); 1008 l. 6; 1011 l. 5; Pélékidis 1962, 217–218. For the ephebic oath, see Poll. *Onom*. 8.105; Reinmuth 1952, 40–42; Pélékidis 1962, 111–113; Siewert 1977; Robertson 1992, 113–114; Rhodes – Osborne 2003, no. 88 with commentary. It is not clear if the oath was taken at the beginning or the end of the ephebic service.

[112] Dontas 1983, esp. 50–51 and 63.

[113] As suggested by Luce 1998, 12.

[114] Introduction into the phratry has also been suggested to have been the reason for the dedication of Athenian votive reliefs, see Edelmann 1999, 105–106 and Comella 2002b, 244–247. The age at which this important event took place is not clear, either

The link between the swearing of oaths and stones is securely established by the use of the *Lithos*.[115] The connection between the *epheboi* and an oath-taking at a stone suggested here, finds a parallel in an explicit sacrificial calendar from Kos, dated to the mid-fourth century BCE, which mentions an altar and a stone used for the deposition of parts of the sacrificial animal at a ritual, which seems to have concerned ephebic initiation.[116]

The ritual uses of shields

The explanation of the stone on the relief as alluding to the ephebic oath is hypothetical. However, to elucidate the ritual connotations brought forth by the presence of the stone, I would like to widen the iconographical scope by comparing the relief with a red figure pelike dated to the mid-fifth century BCE and now in the Villa Giulia museum in Rome (*fig. 51*).[117] This vase depicts a departing warrior, clad in helmet and cuirass, with the mantle draped over the left shoulder, and leaning against a staff. On the wall a pair of greaves is hanging. Facing him is a woman performing a libation. On the ground lies the warrior's shield, the convex side up.

The parallels between the iconography of this vase painting and the Theseus relief are apparent. The postures of the warrior and Theseus, both to the position of the legs and the left shoulder leaning against a staff or a

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very young or around 16 years (or both), see Lambert 1993, 161–178 and Parker 2005, 458–461. Animal sacrifice and a following meal were of fundamental importance on that occasion, see Schmitt Pantel 1992, 82–90 and Parker 1996, 104–108. On Aigina, to the west of the Kolonna hill, four limestone "*omphaloi*" have been found, covering pits with miniature skyphoi and remains of burnt sacrifices, one bearing the inscription ΦΡΑ(τϱίας), see Kraiker 1932, 158 fig. 21 and 162–163. Herrmann 1959, pl. 7.3 suggested that they marked the site of a hero-cult for one or several phratries dating to *ca.* 550–500 BCE. The "*omphaloi*" had handles indicating that they could be lifted and offerings were deposited in several instances. It would be tempting to identify the mound on the Theseus relief with such an *omphalos* and take the reason for its dedication as Sosippos' introduction of his son to a phratry. There seems, however, to be no cultic link between Theseus and the Athenian phratries. For the divinities worshipped by the phratries, see Lambert 1993, 205–225 and Parker 1996, 104–108.

[115] Swearing by a stone was also practised at Pheneos, see Paus. 8.15.2; Vernant 1985, 333–335.

[116] Rhodes – Osborne 2003, no. 63 part D, commentary p. 311; *cf.* Pirenne-Delforge 1996, 209–213.

[117] Villa Giulia 46942, Painter of London E 489, *ca.* 475–450 BCE: *CVA, Rome, Villa Giulia* 4, pl. 23.2 (Italia 2890); Beazley Archive, no. 17982.

club, are very similar. More striking are the similarities in the shape and placement of the shield and the mound, respectively, in the centre of each scene.

On votive reliefs, mounds of this type are placed between the divinity and the worshippers or between two deities, forming a focus for the contact between the deity and the worshippers or a fixed spot for the ritual activity (*fig. 45 and 46*).[118] In vase painting, a shield lying on the ground constitutes the focal point for the Greek heroes' fight over the arms of Achilles but shields are also found in representations of *hoplitodromoi* jumping over them or placed on the ground while the soldiers are arming themselves.[119] The mounds and the shields in these scenes are essential elements for the understanding of each of the motifs.

Could the mound on the Theseus relief actually be meant to represent a shield and not a stone? Though Theseus is rarely depicted as carrying a shield in our extant iconographical material, apart from when fighting the Amazons, the hero was claimed to have appeared at Marathon clad in full armour, and the large wall painting in the Stoa Poikile showing the battle at Marathon may well have rendered him in traditional hoplite gear, including a shield.[120] Thus, a shield lying on the ground would not be out of context in a relief dedicated to Theseus and commemorating the *ephebeia*. An argument against this interpretation of the mound is the fact that the mound on the relief does not have a shield-ledge, although the curve of its sides seems to indicate a round object. On a grave stele in Athens a shield seen lying on the ground next to a seated *hoplites* has a clearly executed ledge.[121] In vase painting, on the other hand, the small and insignificant shield-ledges depicted on shields placed on the ground show that this feature did not have to be prominently rendered. The lack of a ledge on the mound on the Theseus relief may be due to the incompetence of its sculptor or it may perhaps originally have been added in paint.[122]

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[118] See also Museo Torlonia: Deubner 1943, 134 fig. 1; Comella 2002a, 53 fig. 40 Roma 3. Thebes 62: van Straten 1995, no. R106 fig. 102. Villa Albani: Löwy 1887, 109; van Straten 1974, no. A8.

[119] Fighting over the armour of Achilles: Vienna 3695, Douris, *ca*. 500–460 BCE: Buitron-Oliver 1993, 75 no. 42 pl. 26. *Hoplitodromoi*: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2246, Antiphon Painter, *ca*. 480 BCE: *CVA, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum* 1, III I, pl. 28 (The Netherlands 283); Tampa, Museum of art 86.65, Walters Painter, *ca*. 500–450 BCE: Beazley Archive, no. 275152; Florence, Museo archeologico 3910, Douris, *ca*. 490 BCE: *CVA, Firenze, Museo archeologico etrusco* 3, pl. 89.3 (Italia 1352); Florence, Museo archeologico PD 362, Group around the Antiphon Painter, *ca*. 480 BCE: *CVA, Firenze, Museo archeologico etrusco* 3, pl. 97.3 (Italia 1361). Soldiers arming themselves: Vienna 3694, Douris, *ca*. 500–460 BCE: Boardman 1975, fig. 281 and Buitron-Oliver 1993, 73 no. 11 pl. 7.

[120] Paus. 1.15.4; Plut. *Thes*. 35.8. For the murals, see Neils 1994, 950–951 and Walker 1995, 54.

[121] Athens, NM 752, 380–370 BCE, of unknown provenance: Wegener 1985, 168 no. 200 and Kaltsas 2002, 163 no. 320 fig. 320. On top of the shield lies the hoplite's helmet.

Even if the mound was not meant to depict an actual shield, its appearance and placement may have been intended to evoke those of a shield. There was perhaps an intentional ambiguity here, so that the same object could be understood in two different ways. Furthermore, this iconographic similarity could have been deliberate, playing on a convergence in usage between the mound and the shield for ritual purposes.[123] On the pelike (*fig. 51*), the libation the woman is about to pour is directed to the shield, which actually takes the place of the altar found in a number of scenes showing departing warriors.[124] On this particular vase, the convex surface of the shield functions as an altar receiving libations.

However, shields were also important at oath takings, especially in war. The blood of victims could be poured inside a shield, so that those who swore could dip their hands or spears into it.[125] Of particular interest is the use of shields for a ritual purpose outlined in the epigraphic version of the "oath of Plataiai".[126] This oath, which the Athenians allegedly took before the battle at Plataiai in 479 BCE is a tricky document, quoted also in the literary sources. Some scholars have suggested that this document is nothing but a later invention of the fourth century BCE.[127] Still, there is no reason to believe that the oath ritual included does not describe an action, which was performed in real life.[128] According to the inscription, the oath takers conclude the oath by placing their shields *over* the sacrificial victims, *ta sphagia*, presumably covering the bodies of the animals. A shield lying on the ground, the convex side up, could thus be used both for receiving the libations for the departing warrior, as we see on the vase in the Villa Giulia, and for covering the oath victims, when the soldiers swore to protect their country and not to betray their comrades, as described in the "oath of Plataiai". We should note that this particular stele also carries the text for the ephebic oath.[129] A relief showing the armour of a soldier crowns the stele bearing both these oaths: helmet, greaves, cuirass, a folded mantle, and prominently displayed in the centre, the shield.[130] This is a suitable decoration considering the contents of the two documents inscribed. The reference to the hoplite is obvious, since it is his gear we see rendered, but the mantle can also be taken as that of the ephebe. The shield, finally, may evoke the religious setting of the oaths taken and the particular function of the shield at those occasions.

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[122] On the quality of the relief, see Neumann 1979, 65 and Comella 2002a, 61. See also the awkward rendering of the *himation* horizontally around Sosippos' waist. The fact that such an essential element as Theseus' club must have been added in paint makes it likely that other details could have been painted as well.

[123] This intentional dual "reading" of an object depicted has been argued for the so-called altar-thrones on black figure vases, see Cassimatis 1988.

[124] Matheson 1995, 269–276: Matheson 2005, 23–35. In one such scene, the shield is shown as leaning against the altar and the liquid in the phiale held by the woman will pour onto the shield, see a red figure pelike (London, British Museum E 412, Dinos Painter, *ca*. 450–400 BCE): Beazley Archive, no. 215324. The combination of altars and shields is also found in representations of warriors arming themselves next to an altar, while the shield lies on the ground, see a red figure cup (Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 690, Telephos Painter, *ca*. 475–450 BCE): Beazley Archive, no. 210117; red figure cup (Paris, Louvre G475, Penthesileia Painter, *ca*. 475–425 BCE): Beazley Archive, no. 211662. See also the relief from Thasos (*fig. 46*) showing a libation at a low mound, possibly also meant to recall a shield; Grandjean – Salviat 2000, no. 30 fig. 200.

[125] Xen. *An*. 2.2.9; Aischyl. *Sept*. 42–53; Faraone 1993, 66–68.

[126] Benveniste 1947–1948, 91–93; Siewert 1972, 101–102; Faraone 1993, 69–72; Rhodes – Osborne 2003, no. 88 l. 46–48, mid-fourth century BCE. See also Krentz 2007 arguing that the oath concerns Marathon and not Plataiai.

The appearance and the use of shields in these contexts provide us with insights of how to "read" the Theseus relief. Although the mound on the Theseus relief is not really "a shield", it may have been meant to recall the ritual uses of a warrior's shield. Its shape was ambiguous and would lead the viewer to associate it with a wider ritual spectrum, including that of the oaths taken by ephebes about to become full citizens as well as by soldiers getting ready to engage in battle. This may have been one additional reason for placing the mound in the centre of the relief.

Conclusion

The Theseus relief dedicated by Sosippos is unusual in several respects. It is unique, since it is our only private cultic dedication to this important hero. It bears a rare kind of dedication, naming the divinity in the nominative. The mound in the centre of the scene is also of an infrequent type, as most reliefs here would have shown a square altar. Still, the

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[127] van Wees 2006, 125–164 with further bibliography.

[128] Faraone 1993, 68; van Wees 2006, 145–146. 151.

[129] See Rhodes – Osborne 2003, no. 88 l. 5–20 (mid-fourth century BCE).

[130] For the relief, see Siewert 1972, pl. 1.

Theseus relief is part of the Athenian output of votive reliefs of the Classical period, and by placing it into its contemporary iconographic and ritual contexts it is possible to gain insights into how to read it.

The key feature for the understanding of the relief is the mound in the centre of the scene, which is to be identified as a stone. The use of the nominative for Theseus' name and the way he is represented indicate an intimate connection between the hero and this particular stone. What this stone may represent and why it was included in the scene can be given several interpretations, not mutually exclusive.

First of all, the stone could be seen as an altar to be used for animal sacrifice and libations, just as other mounds on votive reliefs clearly are. This interpretation does not, however, exhaust its meanings. Therefore, my second proposal is that the mound is a specific stone, the *Horkomosion*, a location where oaths were taken, which formed part of the mythic narrative surrounding Theseus but which was also an Athenian topographical landmark somewhere in the region of the Archaic Agora. In use and appearance the *Horkomosion* may have been similar to the *Lithos*, the oath stone of the archons in the Classical Agora.

It makes sense that the dedication of the relief refers to a particular event in the history of Sosippos' family, presumably his son reaching the age for the *ephebeia*, as the iconography of the Theseus relief can be related to that of other votive reliefs commemorating this important event. The inclusion of the stone is central for the understanding of the dedication of the relief for this particular reason. The stone on the relief could refer to the oath of allegiance taken by the *epheboi* in the Aglaureion and it is also possible that the *Horkomosion* in some sense was associated to this sanctuary and this particular ritual, considering Theseus' link to the *ephebeia*.

Thirdly, the appearance of the stone may have been meant to evoke a wider ritual spectrum connected with war, playing on the resemblance between the mound and a shield. Shields lying on the ground, the convex surface up, are depicted on vase-paintings as receiving libations for departing warriors, while the epigraphic evidence mentions an oath before battle where the sacrificial victims were covered with the soldiers' shields. Although the mound may not have been meant to represent an actual shield, its shape could have been intentionally chosen to lead the viewer to associate to rituals of this kind.

The relief can be seen as presenting a conscious mixing of the "real" and the "mythic" registers allowing multiple "readings" of the motif. I would propose that the stone could be "read" as an altar, as Theseus'

Horkomosion stone used for oaths by the hero, as an allusion to the Athenian ephebes swearing their oath of allegiance, and as a sign recalling war related rituals for real soldiers.

Finally, it is tempting to suggest that the mound was also meant to bring to mind the stone covering the *gnorismata* central to the myth of Theseus. By turning over this stone, Theseus took the first step of becoming a grown man and by recovering the sword and sandals left there by his father, he would eventually prove himself a true Athenian, just as any ephebe of later times was expected to do, Sosippos' son included.

ODYSSEUS WITH A TRIDENT? THE USE OF ATTRIBUTES IN ANCIENT GREEK IMAGERY[*]

Joannis Mylonopoulos

The notion of asemos

State financial problems were not a rarity in Greek history—or any historical period for that matter. But if resources were limited, the resourcefulness of those who wanted to obtain money was not. At the end of the first century BCE and in the beginning of the first century CE, many cities in the Greek East were facing severe financial problems. One of the most imaginative solutions for solving such a capital shortage is epigraphically attested for the Rhodian city of Lindos. In the year 22 CE, the Lindians were unable to afford the upkeep of public sacrifices and festivals in their city. A very long decree refers to the various strategies for dealing with this problem and offers an invaluable insight in the various ways a community was treating sacred property. Lines 30 to 44 are of particular interest, since they describe the fate of a special group of statues on the Lindian acropolis:

> And since there are some statues (*andriantes*) along the ascent and on the top itself, which are without inscription (*anepigraphoi*) and undistinguished (*asamoi*), it is expedient that these too shall be distinguished (*episamous esti*), bearing inscriptions saying that they are dedicated to the gods, it was voted by the Lindians: when this decree has been sanctioned, the same *epistatai* shall lease out the inscription of each statue, the Lindians deciding by vote whether the winning bid should be confirmed or not, and if it will be decided that the winning bid should be confirmed, they (the *epistatai*), after having made an account of the rate for which the inscription of each statue has been ceded, shall hand over the money accrued from these to be sacred to the fund of Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus. Those who have purchased the inscription shall not have the permission in any case not under any pretext to remove statues from the top;

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[*] I would like to thank Angelos Chaniotis, Marco Fantuzzi, Fernande Hölscher, and Chrysi Kotsifou for discussing with me various aspects of this paper.

> otherwise they shall be liable to be accused of impiety. But if they make a request, they shall have the permission to replace statues according to what the Lindians agree on account of the request.[1]

Thanks to the archaeological evidence, we know very well that both inscriptions and statues were broadly re-used in antiquity, but this decree is the only epigraphic attestation for an official sanction of such an operation concerning a whole group of dedications and not just single objects. Many aspects of the text are problematic and at the same time highly remarkable such as the auction of statue bases, the right to inscribe the bases, but not to remove or change the statues themselves, the possibility to maintain the statue base and replace the statue standing on it after special permission. But the explicit characterisation of dedicated statues as undistinguished (*asamoi*) is striking. It should be stressed that this is the only text to provide clear epigraphic evidence of such *asamoi andriantes*. Only Dio Chrysostomos uses exactly the same terminology in his Rhodian oration, where he accuses the Rhodians of re-using statues they had forgotten, whom they were representing: "... the most absurd plea is to claim that after all they don't lay hands on either the identifiable statues or those whose owner is known, but that they do whatever they want only with those that are indistinct and very old".[2]

The meaning of the term *anepigraphos* used in the inscription is clear and is definitely referring to statues without an accompanying dedicatory or honorary inscription. As regards the adjective *asamos*, H. Blanck suggested that this term might designate a statue, which actually bore an inscription, from whose letters the paint had faded away so that they had become illegible.[3] However, the fact that Dio uses the expression *asemos andrias* in opposition to *gnorimos andrias* allows the assumption that *asamoi andriantes* were indeed statues of undistinguished character. In addition, the term *anepigraphos* would certainly have referred to all the various modes of inscribing a statue base. The *asamoi* statues must have been both those without a distinct, thus, without an easily recognisable physical appearance and those without specific attributes.[4] *Andrias* is certainly not designating honorary statues in an exclusive manner; S. Bettinetti demonstrated that the term *andrias* can specify representations of both humans and gods.[5] One of the earliest attestations of this word appears in the dedicatory inscription of the colossal statue—convincingly interpreted as an image of Apollon[6]—set up by the people of Naxos beside the so-called *oikos* of the Naxians on Delos.

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[1] *I.Lindos* 419 l. 30–44: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντες | [τ]ινές ἐντι ἐν τᾷ ἀναβ[ά]σει καὶ αὐτᾷ τᾷ ἄκρᾳ ἀνεπίγραφοι καὶ | ἄσαμοι, συνφέρον δέ [ἐ]στι καὶ τούτους ἤμειν ἐπισάμους ἐπιγρ[α|φ]ὰν ἔχοντας ὅτι θεο‹ῖ›ς ἀνάκεινται, δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις· κυ(ρωθέντος) τοῦδε | [τ]οῦ ψα(φίσματος) τοὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάται μ[ισθω]σάντω ἑκάστου ἀνδριάντος τὰν | [ἐ]πιγραφάν, διαχειρο[τονησ]άντων Λινδίων, εἰ δεῖ τοῦ εὑρισ|κοντος κατακυροῦ[ν ἢ μ]ή, καὶ [εἴ κ]α [δ]όξῃ τοῦ εὑρισκόντος κα|[τ]ακυροῦν, τὸ πεσὸν ἀργύριον [ἀ]πὸ τού[τ]ων, καταβαλόμε|[ν]οι λ[όγ]ον, π[ό]σου ἑ[κ]ά[σ]το[υ ἁ] ἐπιγραφ[ὰ ἀπε]δόθ[η], παραδόντω ἱερὸν | [ἤ]μ[ειν εἰς] πα[ρ]ακα[τ]α[θ]ήκαν τᾶς Ἀ[θ]άνας τ[ᾶ]ς Λινδίας καὶ τ[οῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέ]ως· [τοὶ δὲ] ὠνησά[μ]ε[ν]οι τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μὴ | [ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν ἀπ]ε[νε]νκεῖ[ν] ἐκ τᾶς ἄκρας ἀνδριάν[τας | τρόπῳ μηδ]ενὶ μηδὲ παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἢ ἔνοχοι ἐόντ[ω | ἀσέβει]ᾳ· ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰν αἴτησιν ἐχόντων ἐξουσ[ίαν | μετενενκ]εῖν ἅ κα συνχωρήσωσι διὰ τᾶς αἰτήσιος Λίν[δ]ιοι (Translation Kajava 2003, 73–74).

[2] Dio Chrys. *Or*. 31.74: ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἀτοπώτατος, ὡς ἄρα οὐδενὸς ἅπτονται τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνδριάντων οὐδὲ οὓς ἐπίσταταί τις ὧν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀσήμοις τισὶ καὶ σφόδρα παλαιοῖς καταχρῶνται.

This intriguing Rhodian inscription raises the fundamental to this article question about the significance of attributes and their use or even absence in respect to the visual characterisation of images. But what exactly is an attribute? Can we label every object and every animal in the hand or next to a depicted divinity or mythological figure as an attribute? Is the club in the hands of Athena or Iolaos an attribute contributing to a better understanding of the essence of these figures? Does it really help the viewer to recognise them? Or are they just holding it while Herakles, the hero actually and normally connected with the club, is using his own hands or a weapon other than his club against monsters and wild animals?[7] Is the club in the hands of Herakles an attribute and in the hands of Athena or Iolaos just a piece of wood? Furthermore, do artists use attributes only in order to allude to mythological narratives and to the properties of gods and heroes, or do they also incorporate them in a composition in order to enhance the aesthetic effect of a work of art? What about the geographical and chronological contexts? Do attributes in Archaic Athenian vase painting have the same function like the attributes of an image in the Roman East like the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias or Mes Askainos?

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[3] Blanck 1969, 102: "... auch solche, deren Inschrift durch Schwund der Farbe in den Buchstaben schlecht leserlich geworden war". Kajava 2003, 74 apparently misunderstood Blanck's suggestion, for he thinks that the German scholar was referring to painted inscriptions. Based on the use of the term, Blanck argues that the statues referred to in the inscription were of honorary character (*Ehrenstatuen*). However, both Scheer 2000, 8–34 and Bettinetti 2001, 25–63 demonstrated that from the terminological point of view there is no clear distinction among the various uses of statues in ancient Greek literary sources.

[4] For example, Hygieia statues out of context are notoriously hard to recognise, see Leventi 2003 (and the review in *Gnomon* 80, 2008, 160–164); on the contrary a nude Aphrodite can be recognised as such even without an inscription or accompanying attributes.

[5] Bettinetti 2001, 37–42.

[6] See most recently Giuliani 2005, 25.

[7] Especially in the visual narrative of the first labour, the Nemean Lion, Iolaos often appears holding the club of Herakles. The scene on an Athenian black-figure amphora in Munich (Antikensammlung 1407; Brinkmann 2003a, 130 fig. 16.4) rendering the capture

In modern scholarship, this complexity is all too often not acknowledged. Attributes are simply explained as signs used by vase-painters and sculptors to visually identify and occasionally characterise heroic and divine figures,[8] exactly as in the representations of human beings a mask is the attribute of an actor, a crown the attribute of an imperial priest, and a beard the physical attribute of a philosopher. As recently as 2007, D. Boschung, oversimplifying a very complex phenomenon, argued that the visual concept of divine and heroic figures was ultimately defined already in the seventh century BCE.[9] In their substantial contributions to this issue, both R. Brilliant and A. Brelich considered attributes as iconographic elements closely connected with the anthropomorphic concept of Greek gods. But despite this similar starting point, these two scholars employ a different methodological and epistemological approach. Working within the realm of art history, Brilliant claims that attributes are a particularity of Greek art and represent a primarily iconographic means used to clearly distinguish between mortals and immortals.[10] In his discussion of attributes in Greek imagery and culture, the historian of religion Brelich applies an evolutionist model and regards attributes as remnants of a non-anthropomorphic concept of the divine. In the latter's view, attributes originally were symbols and visual expressions *per se* of the sacred that were reduced to attributes after the emergence of the anthropomorphic construction of the divine in ancient Greece.[11]

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of the Cretan bull presents an intriguing case, since two clubs are depicted: one on the ground behind Herakles and one held by Iolaos who is physically a copy of Herakles. The significance of the attribute's duplication remains puzzling.

[8] Woodford 2003, 18–20.

[9] Boschung 2007, 79–80. In Homer and Hesiod, gods and goddesses and their respective attributes are already established entities, but these literary concepts do not find an exact correspondence in visual art as early as this.

[10] Brilliant 1966, 303–308.

[11] Brelich 1958.

Although both models have obvious interpretive merits, they manifest weaknesses as well, for none of them seems to take into account certain important aspects of a very complex phenomenon. They do not consider, for instance, theriomorphism—admittedly rare, but nevertheless present in Greek imagery, not only in images of Pan and Acheloos, but also in statues such as the horse-headed Demeter Melaina or the fish-bodied Eurynome both in Phigaleia.[12] All of them are widely neglected examples of theriomorphic images of Greek divinities. Besides, if attributes were indeed important in simply distinguishing between divine and human beings, then the iconographic and semantic ambivalence of almost every single attribute, the lack of significant and explicit attributive iconographic elements in the visual construction of personifications and allegories,[13] and the generic characterisation of divine figures such as Ares or Hades would demand an adequate explanation. In addition, the possible semantic differences between the use of objects or even animals as attributes and the conception of figures such as Nike, the Ploutos-child, or the Graces as attributes of other divine figures have not been adequately taken into consideration.

Furthermore, the use of attributes is certainly not an iconographic phenomenon limited to Greek art; even if we detect close structural and iconographic connections in the use and function of attributes between the Christian and the so-called pagan Graeco-Roman art,[14] so that we could consider the use of attributes in Christian art as a continuation of Greek and Roman visual attitudes, such possible interconnectivity obviously does not apply to Egyptian art. In addition, the partly anthropomorphic conception and representation of the divine in Minoan and Mycenean art and the use of attributes as such and not solely as symbols of the sacred contradicts Brelich's evolutionist model. A similar evolutionist and totemistic approach was most recently adopted by the ethnologist K.-H. Kohl, who interprets the theriomorphic emblems on ancient shields as a symbolic reminiscence of zoomorphic ancestors, who were later transformed into divine anthropomorphic figures with their respective original visual conception as an animal transmuted into an iconographic attribute.[15] The synchronous use of attributes as such, as emblems evoking the divine, and as symbols actually replacing both in iconographic and cultic terms[16] the anthropomorphic representations of Greek divinities constitutes a further "anomaly" in Brelich's and Kohl's lineally conceived approaches. T.H. Carpenter rightly emphasised the aspect of continuity in the use of a specific attribute in connection with a divine figure.[17] Although it is certainly true that the degree of frequency is an important parameter in the creation of a strong visual bond between a divine or heroic figure and an attribute, it will be demonstrated that attributes can also be used as a momentary and conditional visual reference in order to establish an interrelation between figures. For example, the kantharos is not an attribute of Herakles. But on the famous bilingual amphora in Munich (Antikensammlungen 2301, last quarter of the sixth century BCE) the symposiast Herakles is depicted with this type of drinking vessel, in order to stress the presence of the Greek hero *par excellence* in a very specific context: the Dionysian world of wine.[18]

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[12] Paus. 8.41.6 and 8.42.4.
[13] Borg 2002, 82.
[14] Belting 2004, 92–116; Elsner 2007, 225–228.
[15] Kohl 2003, 205–208.

As regards ancient attempts to elucidate the various functions and meanings of attributes that could go beyond aetiological myths, the literary sources remain as in so may other cases almost totally silent.[19] Normally, attributes are described as more or less functional gifts presented to heroes and gods by other divine figures who tend to be considered as more powerful or simply older.[20] Visually speaking, one of the most prominent cases for attributes presented as gift is that of the winged cap and sandals, the *harpe*, the *kibisis*, as well as the shield, which Perseus received according to the literary sources from Hermes, Athena, and the Nymphs.[21] Every single attribute is a gift to Perseus.[22] The iconographical interconnections between Perseus and Hermes are striking—partly also because of the similar attributes like the winged sandals[23] and from 470/60 BCE the winged cap. Only the existence of further attributes like the *harpe* or the *kibisis* for Perseus, the *kerykeion* for Hermes, and some differences in the clothing can help in securely differentiating between hero and god, especially in black figure scenes of Gorgo's decapitation, in which Perseus is often still depicted bearded and sometimes with a *petasos*. By the end of the sixth century and far more often during the fifth century, Perseus is depicted holding the *harpe*.[24] Therefore, this attribute constitutes the most reliable feature for identifying with certainty an isolated figure wearing a winged cap with Perseus as in the case of several squat lekythoi depicting Perseus in form of a bust (*fig. 52*).

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[16] On the interesting case of Zeus' sceptre that was venerated in Chaironeia, see Pirenne-Delforge's paper in this volume. On Athena's owls, see Monbrun 2007 with ample bibliographical references to the earlier research on the topic.

[17] Carpenter 1986, 16: "An object can only be called an attribute when there is a demonstrable continuity in the appearance of that object with a specific figure".

[18] Carpenter 1986, 98–99. In general, Wolf 1993. Herakles' images holding a kantharos in a non-Dionysian context would have placed this specific kind of vase among the hero's attributes such as the club or the lion's skin that are not situational, but moreover almost fixed part of the hero's constructed visual identity. For example, winged boots can be part of the visual identity of Hephaistos, but only in the very specific narrative context of Athena's birth, Schefold 1993, 212 fig. 219. Thus, the winged boots are only a situational attribute of Hephaistos explaining and visualising the angst of the god and its need to leave the scene of the wondrous birth as fast as possible.

[19] In this context, the symbolic explanations of objects and animals that can function as attributes as provided in Artemidoros' *Oneirokritika* should be excluded, since Artemidoros' explanations normally refer not to the divine or heroic figures seen with the attributes, but to the person having the dreams.

[20] Kallimachos (*hymn* 3.9–12) describes Artemis' arrows and bow as a gift of the Cyclops, while the torch and the short *chiton* are presents of Zeus. According to Pseudo-Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.71.4) Herakles received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollon, a golden breastplate from Hephaistos, and a robe from Athena. Only his club he had himself cut at Nemea; for the divergent traditions on the creation of the Heraklian club, see *infra* n. 48. On the contrary, in the Homeric hymn to Apollon (*Hom. hymn* 3.131–132) the young god demands the lyre and the crooked bows as his own.

Most ancient authors were simply agnostic or disinterested in the symbolic meanings of attributes. This "interpretive" attitude is best expressed in an interesting passage in Pausanias' *Periegesis*. While visiting Elis, Pausanias describes a chryselephantine statue of Aphrodite made by Pheidias that stood with one foot on a tortoise and a bronze one of the same goddess sitting on a he-goat. Although Pausanias is perfectly aware of the unusual iconography of the images, he simply states: "the meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat I leave to those who care to guess".[25] Nevertheless, the same author is more than willing to offer a brief explanation for the peculiar rooster on the helmet of the chryselephantine statue of Athena on the acropolis of Elis, an image allegedly made by Pheidias: "on her helmet is an image of a cock, this bird being very ready to fight. The bird might also be considered as sacred to Athena the worker".[26]

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[21] The relevant ancient literary sources can be found in Jones Roccos 1994, 332–333. The shield presented to the hero by Athena appears, however, very late in the visual conception of the hero.

[22] Schauenburg 1960, 117–125 offers a brief overview on the attributes associated with Perseus.

[23] Gialouris 1953, 312–321 makes the interesting observation that the oldest and most numerous representations of a heroic or a divine figure with winged sandals are those of Perseus, thus, the iconographical material apparently contradicts the existing literary evidence. In order to explain this alleged anomaly, however, Gialouris reconstructs an epic poem in honour of Perseus (a *Perseïs*) by the Korinthian poet Eumelos, which could have influenced the iconography of Perseus. Recently, Marconi 2007, 213 f. convincingly argued for the (neglected) early importance of Perseus as a hero closely associated with travel and "colonial experience". It would certainly be fruitful to reconsider Perseus' iconography by taking into account this important aspect as well.

[24] Schauenburg 1960, 121–124.

[25] Paus. 6.25.1: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χελώνῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν τράγον παρίημι τοῖς θέλουσιν εἰκάζειν (Translation W.H.S. Jones). In the case of Demeter Melaina, Pausanias reveals a slightly different attitude referring to well-known traditions that explain the unusual physiognomy and attributes of her statue in Phigaleia, Paus. 8.42.4: ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ

Perhaps the most intriguing ancient explanation of a specific mode of representing the divine is Lukian's reference to the Celtic Herakles. After having described Herakles Ogmios as an extremely old, bald-headed man with wrinkled sun-burned skin, Lukian stresses the fact that the painted image is nevertheless Herakles "from head to heel as far as that goes", because it is equipped with the attributes of Herakles: the lion's skin, the club, the quiver, and the bent bow. The most bizarre element was, however, that a considerable number of men were shown following the hero chained to him from their ears by means of golden fetters attached to his tongue. A Celt explained to the puzzled Lukian the unusual image of the hero in the following way:

> I will solve for you the riddle of the picture, stranger, as you seem to be very much disturbed about it. We Celts do not agree with you Greeks in thinking that Hermes is Eloquence: we identify Heracles with it, because he is far more powerful than Hermes. And don't be surprised that he is represented as an old man, for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its full vigour in old age … if old Heracles here drags men after him who are tethered by the ears to his tongue, don't be surprised, you know the kinship between ears and tongue … in general, we consider that the real Heracles was a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principal force. His arrows represent words, I suppose, keen, sure, and swift, which make their wounds in souls.[27]

ξόανον ἐποιήσαντο οὕτως, ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἀσυνέτῳ γνώμην ἀγαθῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς μνήμην δῆλά ἐστι (*now why they had the image made after this fashion is plain to any intelligent man who is learned in tradition*, Translation W.H.S. Jones).

[26] Paus. 6.26.3: πεποίηται δὲ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι οὗτοι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἐργάνης ἱερὸς ὁ ὄρνις νομίζεσθαι.

[27] Luk. *Herc.*: Ἐγώ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ ξένε, λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὸ αἴνιγμα· πάνυ γὰρ ταραττομένῳ ἔοικας πρὸς αὐτήν. Τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς οἱ Κελτοὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἑρμῆν οἰόμεθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰκάζομεν, ὅτι παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἰσχυρότερος οὗτος. Εἰ δὲ γέρων πεποίηται, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· μόνος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν γήρᾳ φιλεῖ ἐντελῆ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀκμήν … ὥστε εἰ τῶν ὤτων ἐκδεδεμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν γλῶτταν ὁ γέρων οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς ἕλκει, μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάσῃς εἰδὼς τὴν ὤτων καὶ γλώττης συγγένειαν … τὸ δ' ὅλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς τὸν Ἡρακλέα λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡγούμεθα ἐξεργάσασθαι σοφὸν γενόμενον, καὶ πειθοῖ τὰ πλεῖστα βιάσασθαι. καὶ τά γε βέλη αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οἶμαι, ὀξεῖς καὶ εὔστοχοι καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τιτρώσκοντες (Translation A.M. Harmon).

Nevertheless, such quite exhaustive, allegorical, and above all late explanations constitute an exception in the literary discourse and do not discuss the ambiguous use of attributes in Greek imagery.[28] They do, however, demonstrate the complexity of the subject.

In this contribution, the focus lies on attributes as signs of patronage, as visual references to mythological narratives, as parts of the physical appearance of a divine or heroic figure, and finally as visual bonds expressing "family" interconnections. The cases studied will demonstrate that attributes were indeed powerful instruments of communication, because they transported significant, cognitive information by means of visual, non-verbal signs. In antiquity, attributes were certainly of great help to viewers trying to understand the divine in its micro-individuality manifested in a specific, very concrete image. Furthermore, they were in the position to exclude—up to a certain degree—over- and misinterpretations, by guiding the viewer to a certain direction. Still, attributes were also iconographic elements of an extremely ambiguous character.[29] Thus, it cannot be stressed enough at this point that the functions and meanings of attributes cannot be understood properly without taking into consideration the geographical, chronological, and last but not least iconographic context.

The ambiguous use of attributes

Even a modest selection of images clearly demonstrates not only that almost every divine figure is associated with a large number of attributes, but also that generalisations can be extremely problematic. Certain methodological issues must be mentioned at this point. Firstly, it should be noted that the much-debated term "cult statue" will remain absent as far as possible,[30] in order to avoid any terminological and semantic misunderstandings. Furthermore, since the visual construction and reception of the divine is definitely not confined to images in the round, divine images, mainly such on vases, will be also considered. Another factor is that when we deal with Greek sculpture of especially the Classical period we are often facing the fundamental problem of what is Greek and what could have been a later addition made by the Roman copyists.[31] Finally, due to destructions, intentional or not, a more practical problem further complicates our approach: the vast majority of depictions of divinities in the round lack the relevant attributes.

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[28] Hafner 1958. Borg 2004, 44–48 is not categorically rejecting the existence of this image, but she is, nonetheless, strongly questioning the idea that Lukian is actually referring to a real painting. According to Borg, the image of Herakles Ogmios represents most probably a part of Lukian's literary strategies that reveal his preferences for personifications and the theme of the arts' contest. Even if we accept Borg's well-founded scepticism, and regardless of whether Lukian might have been both the creator and the *exegetes* of the puzzling image or not, his text still remains not only an important example for literary *ekphrasis*, but also a major illustration of an eloquent interpretive approach to the use and significance of divine attributes in Graeco-Roman antiquity.

[29] On the contrary, Turner 2005, 73 argues that "the problem of identification and of subsequent significance, as with so much of the iconography of antiquity, is ours". While in most cases the "problem of identification" is indeed ours, there can be no doubt that already in antiquity images could be misunderstood or simply remain undecipherable, see on this subject Keesling 2005.

The statue of Eirene created by Kephisodotos around 374 BCE is perhaps the most telling example for the problems concerning the reconstruction of missing attributes and the scholarly axioms preventing objective (re)considerations of Greek originals: the best-preserved Roman copy of the bronze original is the marble statue in Munich (Glyptothek 219), which shows Eirene holding only the Ploutos child with all other attributes missing.[32] Later representations of the Kephisodotean Eirene on vases, coins, and gems consistently show the Ploutos child with the cornucopia.[33] The attribute, however, that the goddess is holding in her left hand has been all too confidently identified as a sceptre. Six Panathenaic amphorae found in 1969 in Eretria depict Eirene with the Ploutos child on *kioniskoi*. Even more remarkable than the depiction of the statue group on Panathenaic vases is their date: based on the mention of the Athenian archon Kallimedes, the amphorae can be securely dated in 360/59 BCE. Thus, the vases are chronologically almost contemporary with the bronze original. On three of the amphorae, Eirene is indeed shown holding a sceptre, but the remaining three depict the goddess with a bunch of grapes in her left hand.[34] The latter variation seems to anticipate the Praxitelean group of Hermes with the Dionysos child even more closely than has been already suggested.[35] In any case, the statue group of Eirene with the Ploutos child and its reception in contemporary art clearly demonstrates how ambiguously attributes were used and understood in antiquity: the sceptre and the bunch of grapes seem to have been interchangeable already in the very early artistic responses to the newly created image.[36]

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[30] For the use of the term "cult statue" in modern scholarship, see especially Donohue 1997.

[31] In general Ridgway 1984; Geominy 1999; Mattusch 2002.

[32] Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 255–266.

[33] Themelis 1969, 414 fig. 4; La Rocca 1974, 124–125. fig. 21, 23; Themelis 1980, pl. 107.

[34] Themelis 1969, 415 fig. 5; La Rocca 1974, 124–125. fig. 20, 22; Themelis 1980, pl. 98. Eschbach 1986, 66–70 esp. 69 does not discuss the obvious difference in the attributes held by Eirene; he regards the substitution of the sceptre with the bunch of grapes as a simple reduction of iconographic elements that could not really contribute to the identification of the figure.

Attributes as symbols of control

Most attributes seem to be a *pars pro toto* for a specific activity or a more general symbolic reference to one's control and patronage over particular aspects of nature and every day human life. Pincer tongs, hammer, and sometimes anvil characterise Hephaistos as a smith and signalise his protection of activities connected with metallurgy.[37] The scenes depicting Hephaistos in a context, in which tools such as a pincer make absolutely no sense especially demonstrate how close the connection between the god and his attributes actually is: for example, a young and beardless Hephaistos is shown reclining like a symposiast on a *kline* on a red figure crater in Schloss Fasanerie (inv. no. 77) from the end of the fifth century BCE depicting Erichthonios' birth. Hephaistos is holding an omphalos-phiale in his right and the pincer in his left hand (*fig. 53*).[38] A pincer is meaningless both in the general context of Erichthonios' birth and for the concrete visualisation of Hephaistos as a symposiast. Nevertheless, this instrument remains the only iconographic element that explicitly identifies the youthful figure with Hephaistos. The return of Hephaistos to Olympus certainly belongs to the most popular narrative scenes: the god can be shown with or without a beard, riding a donkey or sitting in a winged carriage, and yet despite these possible variations at least one of his attributes is practically always part of his iconography.[39] Even more intriguing are those scenes, in which the involvement of

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[35] Mylonopoulos forthcoming.

[36] Valavanis 1991, 110–112 does not discuss the problem of the attribute the goddess is holding in her right hand on three of the Eretrian Panathenaic amphorae.

[37] On the iconography of Hephaistos see in general Brommer 1978 and Hermary – Jacquemin 1988.

[38] Brommer 1978, 21.

[39] Brommer 1978, 10–17; Schöne 1987, 24–47; Hermary – Jacquemin 1988, 638–645 esp. no. 117. 119. 157. 163. 166. 172c. Wiesner 1969 reconstructs a close connection between the use of a donkey or a mule in such scenes and Hephaistos' significance for the working group of the smiths, since a god protecting a lower class cannot be visually

Dionysos is additionally symbolised by Hephaistos holding a definitely Dionysian attribute like the kantharos or the *thyrsos*.[40]

In an almost analogous way Hermes is characterised as a herald through his *kerykeion*,[41] and Artemis, Apollon, but also Herakles are shown as hunters of both animals and humans holding bow and arrows.[42] Similar is also the connection of Asklepios with the snake[43] and of Aphrodite with the *iynx*.[44] The aforementioned objects and animals clearly refer to specific human activities. On the contrary, Poseidon's trident and Zeus's thunderbolt have no equivalent in every day human activities.[45] They symbolise, instead, the power over elementary forces of nature that could destroy a city.[46]

Attributes as signs of mythical narratives

Those attributes that seem to visualise very concrete moments in myth certainly are both in their meaning and function more differentiated when compared to the aforementioned and universally known interre-

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connected with horses. It should be said, though, that owning a donkey or a mule already puts one into the middle class. Lower classes could not afford donkeys.

[40] Brommer 1978, 10–17 pl. 4.1 and 6.3; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 19–26, but see also 47–62 for a more general consideration of the motif of the mule rider in association with satyrs; Isler-Kerényi 2007, 80.

[41] On Hermes see in general Zanker 1965 and Siebert 1990; for the possible significance of the *kerykeion* as a commemorative symbol of the Greek victory over the Persians at Mycale, see Knauer 1992, 388–389.

[42] Among gods and heroes, Herakles is perhaps the one figure with the most extensive iconographic variability in the weapons he uses (sword, club, bow and arrows, trident, his own hands). He actively uses bow and arrows mainly against the Stymphalian birds and Geryoneus, see Brize 1980; Kaeser 2003, 115 fig. 14.5; Brinkmann 2003b, fig. 19.8. In the east pediment of the Aphaia temple on Aigina, Herakles is also depicted as an archer. On an Apulian volute-crater in Ruvo, Herakles is depicted wearing a winged Thracian helmet and holding a shield, Sichtermann 1966, 37–38 no. 42. However, the hero can be securely identified, for all his usual attributes (Nemean lion's skin, club, bow, and quiver) are shown lying on the ground in front of the hero.

[43] Schouten 1967, 35–40; Holtzmann 1984.

[44] On the *iynx* as a small bronze wheel used in love magic, see Gow 1934; Pirenne-Delforge 1993; Graf 1994, 204–205; Pironti 2007, 147–149. Turner 2005, 74–82 clearly demonstrates that the bird *iynx* (wryneck) accompanies Aphrodite in several scenes on South Italian vases. In addition, Turner makes a strong case for the identification of the isolated female heads on the same category of vases accompanied by a bird (most probably an *iynx*) with Aphrodite.

[45] Mylonopoulos 2003, 360–364.

[46] For example, for Libanios (*Or*. 37.7) drought and earthquake were the most severe dangers for the existence of a city, and therefore Zeus and Poseidon were the most venerated divinities.

lations between figures of cult or mythology and specific objects or animals. The most prominent example is the Nemean lion's skin, which besides the club is the most personal attribute for the characterisation of Herakles and constitutes an eternal memory of the very first labour of the Panhellenic hero.[47] Even in scenes that focus on more serene aspects of Herakles' personality such as the hero's visit in the garden of the Hesperides, the lion skin remains omnipresent. Especially in red figure renderings of the scenes, Herakles is often depicted if not wearing the lion's skin, then at least sitting on it.[48] In such an iconographic context, it becomes very clear that the lion's skin is almost used as a part of Herakles' *physique* and cannot in any way be associated with the concrete topic of the mythological narrative. The lion's skin—an integral part of the hero's mythological past—becomes for Herakles what the horns are for Pan or the wings for Eros: an extension of his bodily presence; the possibly most glorious incident in the hero's life is transformed into an almost physical part of himself. In this sense, one could compare the connection between the lion's skin and Herakles with the one between Athena and the *aegis* or the *gorgoneion*. However, in Athena's case the two attributes are gifts, since the goddess did not have to struggle in order to obtain them, while Herakles is actually the "creator" of his own attribute, although his mythological past was indeed heteronomous. Moreover, the club was also made by Herakles himself and does not represent a divine gift to the hero, so that Herakles owes the genesis of his two most important attributes to his own efforts.[49]

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[47] The earliest depiction of Herakles wearing the lion's skin seems to be on a Late Protokorinthian alabastron (Florence, Mus.Arch. inv. no. 79252), but a bronze relief found in the Heraion of Samos in 1983 and dated around 620 BCE shows the hero for the first time in Greek art with his head actually covered by the lion's head, Brize 1985, 85.

[48] See, for example, Kokkorou-Arewras 1990, 104–105 no. 2725 (Herakles wearing the lion's skin in the garden of the Hesperids), no. 2717 (Herakles sitting on the lion's skin). There are of course depictions of Herakles sitting on a cloak with the lion's skin being totally absent (no. 2722).

[49] According to authors such as Theokritos (*Idyll.* 25.209–210: τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ Ἑλικῶνι εὑρὼν σὺν πυκινῇσιν ὁλοσχερὲς ἔσπασα ῥίζαις), Pseudo-Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.71.4: ῥόπαλον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔτεμεν ἐκ Νεμέας), or Pausanias (2.31.10: τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα λέγουσιν ἀνευρόντα τὸν πρὸς τῇ Σαρωνίδι κότινον ἀπὸ τούτου τεμεῖν ῥόπαλον), Herakles made his club by himself. On the contrary, Diodoros in an elaborate list counts the club among other numerous gifts Herakles received by the gods and associates it with Hephaistos (4.14.3: ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς οἰκείαις ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλῳ, Ἥφαιστος δὲ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ θώρακι). Compared to the lion's skin, the club seems to be even more closely connected with Herakles. For example, on a red figure hydria in London (BM E 227, *ca.* 360 BCE), the young, beardless Herakles

Furthermore, a group of cult and mythological figures is closely associated with the dolphin, without however being part of the maritime *thiasos* of Poseidon. The dolphin represents a very specific moment in the mythological *vita* of these figures. The dead bodies of Melikertes / Palaimon, Hermias, and Hesiod are brought to the shore by dolphins. The child Melikertes and the youth Hermias are represented lying or standing on a dolphin on coins of Korinth and Iasos respectively.[50] Pausanias describes at least three large-scale statue groups of Melikertes on the back of the dolphin in Korinth, in the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, and in the *monopteros* of Melikertes / Palaimon also at Isthmia.[51] For Melikertes, Hermias, and Hesiod the dolphin embodies the guarantee for a proper burial; on the contrary, for the founder of Taras, Phalanthos, and for the poet Arion riding the dolphin means salvation and this is exactly what coins from Taras and Lesbos depict.[52]

"Borrowed" attributes or such that are presented to a divine or heroic figure as a gift can also be a point of reference to a specific part of a figure's mythological background, as the above briefly discussed case of Perseus with his winged cap and boots demonstrates. It is certainly of importance that in the mythological narration about the Lydian queen Omphale and Herakles, the visualisation of the gender roles being exchanged occurs through the handing over of the lion's skin and the club,[53] despite the fact that Herakles is shown more often as an archer than fighting with the club.[54] The crucial issue is that arrows and bow are not so

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can be identified only on the basis of the club, although the general mythological context remains thanks to the apple tree clear (compare, however, the youth behind the standing Hesperid who has a similarly muscular body and sits on a cloak of the same type like Herakles), Kokkorou-Arewras 1990, 105 no. 2722. On Theseus and his club, see Gunnel Ekroth's article in the present volume.

[50] Melikertes / Palaimon: Pache 2004, 163–169. Hermias: Vollkommer 1990, 387 no. 2, 3.

[51] Mylonopoulos 2003, 174–182 fig. 180 pl. XIII.

[52] Arion: Schefold 1997, 156 fig. 70 and 404 fig. 276. Phalanthos: Vollkommer 1997, 979–980.

[53] Vollkommer 1988, 31–32; Boardman 1994, 46, 52–53; Schulze 2003; Llewellyn-Jones 2005.

[54] There are, however, some depictions showing Omphale not only with club and lion's skin, but also holding Herakles' bow and arrows: a) Electron coin from Phokaia, 387–326 BCE (Schulze 2003, 257 fig. 42.2); b) intaglio in Naples (Mus.Naz. 273), first century BCE (Boardman 1994, 51 no. 60). It is noteworthy that bronze clubs could be dedicated to Herakles, as examples from Gela and Apollonia clearly demonstrate. Manganaro 2005 suggests that such votive offerings had an additional apotropaic character, since evidence from Gela and Delos shows that Herakles was obviously considered the protector of private houses.

exclusively connected with Herakles to be used both in the mythological narration and its visual version as a symbolic indicator of the enforced transvestitism. Furthermore, the hero is forced to hand over exactly those two attributes, which he made himself (the club) or had to struggle for (the Nemean lion's skin). In this way, Herakles is not only loosing two invaluable weapons, but he is also denuded of his identity as a Greek hero.

Attributes as part of the physical appearance

Attributes that are actually an inseparable part of a figure's physical appearance constitute a special category. Winged figures are an easily recognisable group,[55] but a clear distinction among individual figures like Eros and Pothos,[56] Iris, Eris and Nike,[57] Hypnos and Thanatos[58] is in many cases possible only thanks to an inscription or a very distinct attribute (for example the *iynx* for Eros). On the contrary, both Erinys in her close visual association with snakes and Kairos with his Lysippian iconography remain quite distinguishable. A white ground lekythos in Athens (*fig. 54*) reveals the iconographic ambiguity of visually closely related figures: Hypnos and Thanatos are presented carrying the body of a dead youth in front of a tree instead of a stele.[59] Both figures are bearded and wear tunics. Since there are no inscriptions identifying the figures, there is no way to distinguish between Hypnos and Thanatos. One could argue that the figure carrying the upper part of the body is Hypnos, since he is often presented in this position on white ground lekythoi,[60] but on Euphronios' famous red figure calyx-crater—formerly in New York and now in the Villa Giulia in Rome—it is, on the contrary, Thanatos who is depicted carrying the upper part of Sarpedon's dead body.

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[55] Unfortunately, this is not the place to discuss the iconography of the winged *potnia theron* and her connection to Artemis.

[56] Bažant 1994a, 503: "in appearance, activity and attributes there is no difference between Pothos and other companions of Aphrodite". For example, on a red figure pyxis in London (BM E775, *ca.* 400 BCE), Aphrodite is shown on a chariot drawn by two winged youths identified as Pothos and Hedylogos only thanks to the accompanying inscriptions, Bažant 1994a, 501 no. 6; Borg 2002, 196 fig. 72.

[57] Thöne 1999, 14 fn. 7: "sofern Attribute oder Kontexte im Bild fehlen, kann es sich bei geflügelten weiblichen Wesen in der griechischen Kunst ebenso um andere Gestalten handeln, allen voran um die Götterbotin Iris sowie um Eris, Eos, Nyx und mitunter Artemis".

[58] Bažant 1994b, 906–907; Mintsi 1997; Giudice 2003; Oakley 2004, 125–137.

[59] Mintsi 1997, 54 suggests that the replacement of the stele through a tree serves "à souligner que la scène se déroule en plein air". The visits at the grave are always taking place outdoor, so that an additional accentuation through a tree would be redundant. I believe that the tree enhances the heroic character of the dead already manifested through the presence of Hypnos and Thanatos. Trees or sacred groves are often associated with graves of heroes, Mylonopoulos 2008b, 64–65.

There is a very small group of images that show a winged Athena.[61] Normally, these images are seen in the context of the Homeric tradition, according to which Athena (and Apollon) are referred to as birds. F. Dirlmeier is most probably right in his assumption that the Homeric passages do not describe actual divine transformations into birds, but rather qualitative analogies between the goddess and the birds she is compared to.[62] One of the most intriguing images on a late-sixth century Athenian black figure olpe in Paris (Cabinet des médailles, inv.no. 260, Leagros group) shows a winged Athena carefully carrying the dead body of a soldier or a hero across the sea (*fig. 55*).[63] There can be little doubt that the character is Athena, although the identification of a comparable figure on a Klazomenian sarcophagus with Athena is still considered problematic.[64] P. Demargne considered the Attic versions of a winged Athena as a loan from the Ionian coast of Asia Minor employing arguments based on the chronology of the evidence.[65] However, according to his own *LIMC*-catalogue, Attic and Ionian examples are roughly contemporary. As regards the winged Athena on the olpe in Paris, we are dealing in my view not with a transfer of iconographic attitudes from one artistic landscape to another, but moreover with the adaptation of a motif very well known in the context of images related to death. Mythological figures such as Hypnos, Thanatos, Sphinx, or the Sirens, which are associated with the journey to the underworld, are shown winged.[66] Even the four unnamed figures on a late sixth century BCE black figure amphora in Munich (Antikensammlungen, inv.no. 1493) depicted pouring water into an oversized pithos besides Sisyphos with the stone are winged.[67] Furthermore, death-bringing monsters like Gorgo are also shown winged. In order to explain the image on the Attic olpe no models from Asia Minor are really needed, for the painter obviously had structurally similar images from his own Athenian *Bilderwelt* already in his mind.

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[60] Bažant 1994b, 905 no. 15 (Hypnos is the figure with the red-brownish body) and no. 16 (Hypnos is the youthful, beardless figure).

[61] Demargne 1984, 964–965 nos. 59–66. However, no. 62 is the Klazomenian sarcophagus discussed below, while both no. 64 and 65 are coins depicting a head wearing a winged helmet and not a winged figure. On no. 64, Perseus is probably depicted.

[62] Dirlmeier 1967.

[63] Anti 1920, 287–289 and Kron 1976, 113–114 understand the scene as a depiction of Athena Aithyia carrying the body of the dead hero Pandion from Athens to Megara, while Vermeule 1979, 177 takes the dead male to be a simple unknown warrior.

[64] A winged figure with shield on a red figure Klazomenian sarcophagus (Berlin Inv. 4824) has been identified with Athena, see Zahn 1908, 171–173 fig. 1. The iconography is, however, not quite distinctive, and the figure is not shown in the characteristic moment of carrying away a deceased, thus, adopting the iconography of a death demon. Cook 1981, 50 pl. 82. 121 with n. 92 clearly opposes this identification and considers winged figures on Klazomenian sarcophagi as a generic "type from the artistic repertory" and suggests that attributes such as spear, shield, or helmet were nothing more than symbols of "a military ambit".

[65] Demargne 1984, 1019.

Moreover, some of the wooden sarcophagi from Pantikapaion dating to the late first or early second century CE were decorated with plaster decoration in the appliqué technique. One of the recurring topics was the murder of the Niobids. Among the surviving figures, the so-called pedagogue is inexplicably shown with wings.[68] W. Geominy explained the unusual depiction of the winged pedagogue suggesting that the wings would visually imply that the figure had “visionary qualities”.[69] H. Schulze rightly rejected this identification, but did not offer an alternative.[70] The winged figure that accompanies the murdered Niobids must be explained as a death demon. It could be the case that in the narrative and visual context of the Niobids’ murder on the wooden sarcophagi from Pantikapaion, we are dealing with a visual *bricolage* of the figure of the old pedagogue with the winged death demons.[71]

Theriomorphism in cult is actually not an omnipresent traditional feature of Greek religion, and yet there are still some examples of theriomorphic or partly theriomorphic deities. The already mentioned Pan and Acheloos worshipped all around Greece as well as the horse-headed Demeter Melaina and the fish-bodied Eurynome with their cult statues in

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[66] Vermeule 1979, 145–177. In my view, the author overemphasises the erotic connotations in such scenes. See also Vollkommer 1991 and Tsiafakis 2003, 73–90.

[67] Keuls 1974, 34–35 fig. 1 identifies the winged figures with souls, with *eidola* such as shown flying over the heads of deceased persons on white ground lekythoi. I follow, however, the interpretation of Vermeule 1979, 58–59. who sees in these figures winged death demons.

[68] Pinelli – Wasowicz 1986, 81–82.

[69] Geominy 1984, 315.

[70] Schulze 1998, 88.

[71] On so-called Roman Endymion sarcophagi, the winged figure pouring a potion on the sleeping Endymion is sometimes of the same iconographic type like the winged pedagogue on the wooden sarcophagi from Pantikapaion. The figure is usually interpreted as Hypnos or a Hypnos-like creature. See, for example, the sarcophagus in The Getty Villa (inv. no. 76.AA.8: True 2002, 169).

Phigaleia in Arcadia are some of those instances of theriomorphic divine figures that remain more or less outsiders until divinities like the Egyptian Anubis or the amalgamated Abraxas become part of the Graeco-Roman religious *koine*.[72]

Attributes and "family" connections

Attributes were also used in order to visually express interconnections between individual figures belonging to a clearly defined group, for mythical and divine figures did not exist in isolation: the use of common attributes expressed this idea of togetherness. In this respect, the *thiasoi* of Dionysos and Poseidon are a case to the point.[73] Satyrs and maenads are clearly connected with Dionysos through the holding of the *thyrsos* or a kantharos. As it has been stressed above, Hephaistos—definitely not a member of the Dionysian *thiasos*—can still be depicted with a kantharos, if the context requests an accentuation of the connection between the two divinities. According to Pausanias, the statue of Zeus Philios in Megalopolis made by Polykleitos portrayed the god seated in a throne and holding a drinking bowl and a *thyrsos*, two clearly Dionysian attributes. It remains unclear whether the attributes expressed the family bonds between Zeus and Dionysos or a local visual and religious conception of Zeus.[74]

Poseidon's associates are also shown with attributes normally related with this god. In imagery, Amphitrite remains either without any characterisation through attributes and becomes recognisable only on the basis of being depicted together with Poseidon or she acquires attributes that are definitely Poseidonian like the dolphin or a fish (perhaps a tuna).[75] However, she is never shown holding the trident.[76] Figures like Nereus, the Nereids, Thetis, Triton and the Tritons, the rare depicted figure of the Halios Geron, and even a sea monster like Skylla are shown holding dolphins, fish, oars, or rudders.[77] Some of these figures such as Nereus, the Halios Geron, the Tritons are shown with the trident in their hands.[78] Interestingly enough, Herakles is always depicted destroying Nereus' house with a trident.[79] Two fourth-century South Italian craters show Skylla with a trident.[80] There are also female figures associated with the trident as demonstrated by two late Hellenistic gems showing Nereids. Although it is really hard to tell for sure, I find that the trident on the gems is only shown in the background as a symbol of the Poseidonian presence reminding us that the nymphs are part of the Poseidonian world.[81] In the specific context of the Nereids and Poseidon's visual symbol in the background, the trident could be compared in its function at least structurally with the palm tree symbolising the birthplace of the Letoids.

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[72] In this respect, a small group of seal impressions found on Delos is very characteristic of the imaginative attitude towards the visual constructions of the divine during the Hellenistic period: on these impressions Eros is depicted with an anthropomorphic upper part and a lower part in form of a scorpion, Stampolidis 1992, 210–211 pl. XLVIII.17-XLIX.2. Already during the Archaic period Cypriote limestone figurines of a ram-headed male deity sitting on a throne were dedicated in sanctuaries in Ialysos, Knidos, Lindos, Miletos, and Samos, Mylonopoulos 2008a, 373–375. On the so-called snake-legged god and his possible association with Judaism, see Nagy 2002.

[73] Barringer 1995, 149–151 traces some intriguing interconnections between the Dionysian and the marine *thiasoi*.

[74] Paus. 8.31.4: τοῦ περιβόλου δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐμφερές· κόθορνοί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ θύρσον (the reference to Polykleitos is a clear indication that the statue antedates the foundation of Megalopolis and that it was brought to the city from another Arcadian site, so that the unusual iconography of the statue cannot be possibly explained in terms of a Late Classical or Hellenistic experimental new "creation").

Furthermore, a singular scene on a so-called Cabirion class skyphos from the late fifth century in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, inv.no. V262) depicts Odysseus holding a trident and blown by the North Wind across the sea (*fig. 56*). Normally, the trident together with waves, amphorae, and fish is interpreted as a visual element enhancing the maritime context of the scene.[82] However, it is noteworthy that Odysseus is not shown wearing his typical hat, the *pilos*. Without the accompanying inscription he could have been easily identified with Poseidon. This is exactly the point the vase painter wanted to make: Odysseus is not part of the maritime *thiasos* of Poseidon, and yet he can bear the trident, since he is the only hero who has challenged the revengeful god and survived to tell the story. We are dealing with an ironic comment on Poseidon's powerlessness[83] and the inscription guarantees that the viewer understands that the male figure flying across the sea with the trident in his hand bears a striking resemblance to Poseidon, but he is not the god! It is further striking that on the other face of the vase, Odysseus wears his typical *pilos* and no inscription accompanies the figure: the hero's iconography and the visual narrative, Kirke holding a skyphos in front of a loom,[84] leave no room for misunderstandings. Obviously, artists used attributes as an intellectual play that fulfilled a similar function as the rare words in Apollonios and Kallimachos or the atypical mythological allusions in Lykophron. An unusual attribute could become the subject of discussion among the participants in a *symposion*, while a cup full of wine was being passed around from *kline* to *kline*. This reminds us that the presence of attributes was connected with the type of object and with the contexts in which this object was used. The example of the Cabirion class cup shows that the study of attributes requires the approach of both the art historian and the historian of cultural contexts.

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[75] Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 725–728 no. 5. 38. 39 (dolphin) and no. 15 and 34 (tuna).

[76] The anonymous reviewer noted that the fact that Amphitrite as a female divinity is not shown holding the trident—after all either a weapon or a fishing instrument—should not puzzle us. Even if gender could be indeed considered a parameter for Amphitrite's visual dissociation from the trident, the fact that even Aphrodite can be conceptualised as a fully armed war-like divinity demonstrates that gender only cannot possibly explain the complete separation of the trident as a symbol and attribute from Amphitrite.

[77] Numerous examples can be easily found in the respective *LIMC*-volumes.

[78] There are also some depictions of Zeus holding the trident, see for example Tiverios 1997, 325 no. 75.

[79] Pipili 1992, 829 no. 52–57.

[80] Jentel 1997, 1138–1139 no. 6 and 16.

[81] Icard-Gianolio – Szabados 1992, 792 no. 77 and 79. On the contrary, the authors note that the Nereids are actually holding the trident.

[82] Vickers 1999, 62.

Finally, more of a local Attic character is the tight connection between Triptolemos and the tuft of grain that primarily characterises Demeter. In respect to Triptolemos, this attribute works both as a visual designation of his role in spreading the expertise in agriculture and as a point of interrelation between him and his protectress.[85] In some rare instances attributes can even visualise a blood relationship, like in the case of Telephos shown wearing the lion skin just like his father Herakles in the west pediment of the Athena Alea temple at Tegea. As A.F. Stewart has already stressed, the Nemean lion's skin can be seen in this context "as an attribute of what one might call 'aspiring Heraklids'" and Telephos is certainly "the most heroic of the Heraklids and the most like his father".[86]

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[83] Lowenstam 2008, 80 suggests that "Odysseus, as the model initiate appears in this image emancipated from his former travails, indeed enjoying the privilege of those that had harried him in the past". For Lowenstam, the Kirke scene on the other side of the vase symbolises the initiation to the mysteries of the Cabiric mysteries. He recognises in the Odysseus-Boreas-scene the salvation that resulted from the initiation. The uniqueness of the scene among the Cabirion class vases does not support the assumption that the image of the huge bellied Odysseus flying over the sea holding a trident is an allusion to salvation.

[84] Moret 1991.

[85] On the iconography of Triptolemos, see Schwarz 1987 and Hayashi 1992.

[86] Stewart 1977, 54.

Divine images and the alleged specificity of attributes

Almost none of the most commonly employed attributes can be connected exclusively with a deity or a heroic figure. Even attributes that are almost automatically connected with a divinity are used to characterise figures with a totally different essence. This is due to the fact that a great number of attributes are multifaceted.[87] For example, the snake in connection with Asklepios, Hygieia, or Amphiaraos visualises healing aspects, while on the contrary in connection with Gorgo, Erinys, or the Phigaleian Demeter[88] it certainly has a frightening effect. The exact meaning of the snake accompanying the figures on the so-called Laconian hero reliefs[89] or in the representations of funerary banquets on grave reliefs[90] still remains a much-debated issue.

In addition, some attributes are so closely connected with specific aspects of everyday life that they can be used to signalise the existence of exactly these aspects in the cultic or mythological personality of many different gods and heroes. Musical instruments can admittedly have differentiated meanings in various levels of understanding, but they basically remain what they simply are: devices to produce music. For example, besides Apollon who as Mousagetes, Kitharodos, or Choragetes is closely associated with music,[91] several other divinities and mythological figures can be depicted with a *lyra* or a *kithara*, foremost Orpheus, but also Artemis, Athena, Herakles, Hermes, Cheiron, or Marsyas. Especially in the case of Herakles, the depiction of the hero playing music must have reminded the viewer of Linos' fate. Infuriated by his lack of musical skills, Herakles murdered the unfortunate music teacher with his lyre. Apollon playing music evidently was the visual *exemplum* of a *mousikos aner*, while Herakles with the kithara or the lyre must have been rather paradoxical, particularly since in most scenes he was shown with his typical attributes that definitely have nothing to do with musical skills.[92] Nevertheless, in the *aedes Herculis Musarum* in Rome a statue group showed Herakles with the lyre accompanied by the nine Muses. F. Nobilior had brought the statues to Rome from Ambrakia in 189 BCE.[93]

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[87] For a similarly critical approach to the significance of attributes as visual determinants, see Metzger 1985.

[88] Both iconographically and iconologically, the statue of the Black Demeter in Phigaleia remains an intriguing example that perfectly reveals how innumerable the local variations in the construction of the divine in ancient Greece really were. The wooden statue was depicted seated on a stone (a possible reference to the *agelastos petra* in Eleusis?) and the goddess had the head as well as the hair of a horse (a reference to her violation by Poseidon), while several snakes and other beasts grew out of her head (a visual reference to Medusa and her association with Poseidon?). In her hands she held a dolphin and a dove (references to Poseidon and Aphrodite?); Paus. 8.42.4: πεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα· καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ, γυναικὶ δὲ ἐοικέναι τἄλλα πλὴν κεφαλήν· κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κόμην εἶχεν ἵππου, καὶ δρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εἰκόνες προσεπεφύκεσαν τῇ κεφαλῇ· χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνεδέδυτο καὶ ⟨ἐς⟩ ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας· δελφὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιστερὰ δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ.

[89] Hibler 1993; Salapata 1993.

[90] Fabricius 1999, 63–66.

[91] See in general Flashar 1992.

The allegedly exclusive association of Hermes with the *kerykeion* can be viewed under a different light, as soon as the iconography of figures like Iris or Nike comes into mind, given that they were also shown holding the *kerykeion*.[94] Moreover, the scene of four winged youths (two youths at a gaming-board under each handle) on an eye-cup dating to 540 BCE (Copenhagen, Nat.Mus. 13521) remains singular. They all hold a *kerykeion*. E. Simon's identification of the figures with Oneiroi, a further group of divine heralds, appears compelling.[95] More puzzling is the depiction of ten older men all of them with a *kerykeion* in their hands on an amphora in Rome dating about 540 BCE.[96]

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[92] Schauenburg 1979 demonstrated that the vast majority of such scenes can be dated between 530 and 500. He also follows Boardman's view that Herakles playing the *kithara* and far more infrequently the *lyra* should be associated with musical contests that Peisistratos introduced into the Panathenaea. See also Shapiro 1989, 159–160 and Schmölder-Veit 2003.

[93] Ritter 1995, 32–35. It is unclear whether Herakles and the Muses belonged to the same statue group already in Ambrakia. Since Plinius (*Nat.hist.* 35.66) only refers to the Muses as part of the Ambrakian booty, there is a slight probability that the group was indeed Nobilior's reinvention for the Roman viewers. Ritter, however, argues for the Greek origins of the constellation Herakles and the Muses.

[94] The *kerykeion* as an attribute can be used both to characterise the general function of a herold (Thuk. 1.53: ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδϱας ἐς κελήτιον ἐσβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηϱυκείου πϱοσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀϑηναίοις καὶ πεῖϱαν ποιήσασϑαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε) and to signalise a victory (Hdt. 9.100: Ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στϱατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηϱυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλϑέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαϱδονίου στϱατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι). In both cases the delivery of a message is the central aspect, but Nike with the *kerykeion* concretely delivers a message about victory. On Nike holding a *kerykeion*, see Thöne 1999, 30. 49–50. 55 (Thöne speculates that Iris was using the *kerykeion* as the gods' herald, while Nike with the *kerykeion* was primarily a mediator between humans and gods); on Iris with a *kerykeion*, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1990, esp. 753 no. 126 (Iris holds a *kerykeion* and is identified thanks to an inscription).

[95] Simon 1994a, 54 no. 4. Vermeule 1979, 82 identifies the figures as winged messengers associated with death and sees in the staffs they are holding magic wands.

[96] Halm-Tisserant – Siebert 1997, 729–730 no. 6 are probably right in suggesting that the *kerykeion* is used here as a sceptre, therefore symbolising power and not a connection with Hermes and his dominion.

Demeter, Persephone/Kore, and Hekate can be shown with torches in their hands, while Artemis Phosphoros is conceptualised as a light bearer through both her epiclesis and the visual construction of her nature.[97] Finally, the cornucopia is a far too common attribute to be discussed here.[98] Compared with the widespread use of the epiclesis Hippios/Hippia for Poseidon, Athena, Hera, or Ares the depiction of divinities as riders is indeed very rare. Only Poseidon is explicitly depicted as a rider on the famous Pelike from Policoro/Herakleia dating to the end of the fifth century BCE.[99] As a matter of fact, Poseidon is shown very often riding a dolphin, a sea horse, a sea monster, a bull, and even a hippalektrion.[100]

If attributes are indeed so polyvalent, is there any possibility to detect at least some that exclusively characterise a single divinity? The already mentioned case of Hephaistos and his pincer tongs seems to constitute an exclusive interrelation between attribute and divine figure. The connection between Zeus and the thunderbolt appears to be a further example of an exclusive use of an attribute in order to distinguish and characterise a deity.[101]

The third example could have been Athena's *aegis* with *gorgoneion*, but there are at least two other divinities depicted wearing the *aegis*.[102] Besides a gigantomachy scene on an amphora from Caere showing Zeus holding an aegis-shield,[103] the type of Jupiter Aigiochos presents the god with an *aegis* loosely thrown over his left shoulder and the raised left arm.[104] However, neither the amphora from Caere nor the statue type of

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[97] Kahil 1984, 658–660 no. 454–504 and 749. A late-fourth-century votive relief in Athens (National Museum 4540) shows Artemis as huntress accompanied by a dog, but holding in both hands torches, Kaltsas 2002, 228 no. 480.

[98] Bemmann 1994.

[99] Simon 1998, 70 fig. 77. In depictions of the Gigantomachy on late-fifth-century vases, Poseidon is often shown as a rider (see, for example, the amphora by the Suessula painter in the Louvre, MNB 810)

[100] Simon 1994b, 462–464 no. 151–163.

[101] From the seventh and especially from the sixth century onwards the main type of Zeus depicts the god in the habitus of Keraunios: standing, nude, and holding the thunderbolt, see Tiverios 1997, 319–324.

[102] Marx 1993, 256 n. 123 stresses that "Athena is the only divine being who ever wears the aegis", although she rightly refers to those cases in the Homeric poems, where Zeus or Apollon also make use of the aegis. More differentiated in Hartswick 1993, 274 with n. 20: "it was a very specific attribute not commonly transferred to others".

[103] *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall'instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 6/7, Rome 1857–1863, pl. 78. It is perhaps of significance that Athena who is also depicted fighting against Enkelados is not wearing the *aegis*.

[104] Canciani 1997, 432–433 no. 117.

Jupiter Aigiochos shows Zeus actually wearing the aegis around his neck and covering the chest area and the upper part of the abdomen (*fig. 57*). In 1970 a life-size marble statue of an apparently young god was excavated in Aigion on the Peloponnese (*fig. 58*). The god is shown naked except for the *aegis* and the *gorgoneion* covering most of the upper part of his body. Just on the basis of the *aegis* the statue was identified in a preliminary publication with Zeus, especially since, besides Athena, he is the only divinity to be so closely connected through myth with the *aegis*.[105] In Aigion, Zeus was prominently honoured as Zeus Pais.[106] Alternatively, the statue could have been a theomorphic representation of a Roman emperor in the *habitus* of a locally conceived Zeus Aigiochos.[107]

Almost inexplicable is, however, the scene on a black figure amphora from the end of the sixth century BCE in the British Museum (inv. no. B254) depicting a male and a female in a quadriga (*fig. 59*). The female wears the *aegis*, so that an identification with Athena based exclusively on the iconographic evidence provided by this specific attribute would have been the next thing to suggest. Her male companion would have been most probably Poseidon.[108] Inscriptions in genitive[109] accompany both figures and confirm that the male figure in indeed Poseidon,[110] but the painter himself identifies the female deity with Aphrodite.[111] Such a scene on a vase combining already at the end of the sixth century Poseidon with Aphrodite remains singular; an Aphrodite wearing the *aegis* of Athena is to my best knowledge unparalleled.[112] The relevant volume of the *CVA* suggests an error in the inscription, the painter wanted to write *Amphitrites* instead of *Aphrodites*.[113] U. Heimberg goes further and suggests that the painter had Amphitrite in mind, drew Athena, and wrote Aphrodite.[114]

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[105] Petsas 1972.

[106] Osanna 1996, 195–196.

[107] On theomorphic representations of Roman emperors in general, see recently Hallett 2005, 237–264. Karanastassi 1997, 351 no. 288 offered three possible identifications of the statue with Zeus, the hero Aigaion, or an unknown emperor. I would like to exclude the hypothesis that the statue depicted the local hero Aigaion.

[108] On the close connection between Poseidon and Athena, see Mylonopoulos 2003, 405–407.

[109] On an Athenian red-figure cup by the Euaion painter (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 12), an inscription accompanying a female figure holding a shaft of wheat over an altar reads "Demetros". Similarly, an inscription reading "[K]ores" appears to the right of a female figure pouring a libation over one of two altars on a white-ground kylix by the Villa Giulia painter. Are we dealing with priestesses "belonging" to the deities referred to in genitive, as suggested by J. Connelly (Connelly 2007, 110–112)? Or, do the inscriptions specify that the viewer is confronted with images of a deity and not the deity herself, thus making a rare ontological distinction?

[110] Simon 1994b, 476–477 no. 266. Simon suggests that the scene could have depicted the two divinities on their way to rescue Aeneas.

[111] An extraordinary case of a very close interconnection between Poseidon and Aphrodite dates to the Hellenistic period: in the hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes, Demetrios is addressed as the son of Aphrodite and the mighty Poseidon, Athen. 6.253e: ὦ τοῦ κρατίστου παῖ Ποσειδῶνος, χαῖρε, κἀφροδίτης.

Those scholars, who accept the identification of the female figure with Aphrodite, recognise in the divine couple the patrons of Korinthia: Poseidon Isthmios and Aphrodite on the Akrokorinth.[115] But why would an Athenian painter depict such a scene inspired by the Korinthian patheon? I believe that this scene refers to an Athenian situation and shows Aphrodite Pandemos, whose cult was established according to Pausanias by Theseus,[116] and Poseidon, the divine father of the hero.[117] The *aegis* constitutes a cunning visual reference to the military and political aspects of the goddess.[118] On the one hand, by employing such an iconography, the painter leaves no doubt that this Aphrodite has nothing to do with love. On the other hand, by using an inscription, he demonstrates that he was perfectly aware of a possible misunderstanding by the viewers.[119]

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[112] Villing 1997, 91–92 fig. 13 and 14 refer to fragments of a fifth century Korinthian plate with the depiction of a goddess wearing a helmet and the *aegis*, whom I would identify with Athena. Villing also discusses a fragment of a sixth-century Korinthian pyxis with the depiction of Hera (accompanied by an inscription) wearing a garment similar to an *aegis*. It seems to me that the garment is simply decorated with a fish scale pattern. There are, of course, representations of Aphrodite in the context of the Gigantomachy that show her fully armed and aggressively fighting in a quite Athena-like manner. However, in these cases the narrative context explains the habitus, see, for example, Shapiro 1989, 120 pl. 39c.

[113] *CVA* Great Britain 5, 9: "but Aphrodite here is probably a mistake for Amphitrite". Flemberg 1991, 46 also argues for the identification of the female figure with Amphitrite and considers the inscription a mistake of the painter.

[114] Heimberg 1968, 33: "der Maler also möglicherweise sogar Amphitrite meinte, Athena malte und Aphrodite schrieb".

[115] Blomberg 1996, 90–91. However, the author does not even refer to the iconographic "anomaly" of an Aphrodite wearing an *aegis*.

[116] Paus. 1.22.3. According to a different tradition, Solon established the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos.

[117] On the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos in Athens, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 26–34.

[118] On Aphrodite's political aspects, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 446–450; on the goddess' military aspects, see most recently Pironti 2007, 209–277.

[119] To my best knowledge Cook 1894, 151 is the only scholar who considered the possibility that the goddess depicted on the amphora could have been Aphrodite Pandemos: "Aphrodite Pandemos was conceived as a goddess riding on a goat, which animal has in this connection a phallic significance. Possibly this is a clue to the amphora in the British

Generic or absent attributes

Despite all uncertainties, the images discussed so far are thanks to the context or the attributes or both explicable, if not always distinguishable. There is, however, a number of divine or heroic figures that have either no or very general attributes, so that their identification can sometimes be even impossible. In this respect, some early depictions of the judgement of Paris are perhaps the most striking case. Although we are perfectly aware of the mythological context and the concrete depicted moment, it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the three goddesses.[120] Was this perhaps the aim of the painters? Did they wish to depict that Paris' decision had in fact nothing to do with the physical appearance of the three goddesses?

In addition, Hades, Hestia, or Ares certainly belong to those divinities that are not depicted frequently. In the case of Hades the lack of attributes complicates his secure identification that in most cases can be achieved only thanks to an accompanying inscription or the context.[121] Ares normally shown as a hoplite can be mistaken for a mortal, if he is not identified beyond any doubt through an accompanying inscription.[122] We are confronted with the same interpretive problems when it comes to figures like Maia, Leto, Hygieia and even Hera. Especially the

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Museum (Cat. of b.-f. Vases B 254) which represents Poseidon riding in a quadriga with 'Aphrodite,' who wears an aegis". Although I am convinced that Cook was right in identifying the goddess with Aphrodite Pandemos, I disagree with the quite simplistic explanation he offers for this unique association of Aphrodite with the *aegis*. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 35–40 argues for a cult of Aphrodite Epitragia in Athens, who was certainly shown sitting on a he-goat. It was perhaps Skopas who connected the iconography of Aphrodite Epitragia with the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos: a bronze statue of an Aphrodite sitting on a he-goat he created for the people of Elis was called by the worshippers Aphrodite Pandemos, Paus. 6.25.1. There is no indication that the iconography of Aphrodite Pandemos before the Eleian statue of Skopas was associated with the motif of the goddess sitting on a he-goat.

[120] Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, 178 no. 5–13 and 186–187.

[121] Probably the earliest image of Hades on a black figure *kylix* (London, BM B425, so-called Xenokles painter, 540/30 BCE) presents Hades without any attributes. This is all the more surprising, since he is depicted with Poseidon and Zeus, who are indeed shown holding their respective attributes, the trident and the thunderbolt, Lindner 1988, 373 no. 14 and 389–390. On the contrary, Hades-Plouton—when conceptualised in an Eleusinian narrative context as the husband of Persephone—is often depicted holding a cornucopia, Bemmann 1994, 20–28.

[122] Bruneau 1984, 487–489 refers to only three cases, in which Ares is securely identified on the basis of an inscription. In most cases, it is the narrative context and not Ares' iconographical individuality that elucidates his presence in a scene.

case of Hera is indeed a puzzling one, for she is normally shown with a *stephane* and sceptre. However, both attributes can be connected with other female deities and even humans of royal or priestly status.[123] In most cases the context (for example Hera sitting besides Zeus) allows a secure identification. It is interesting that on the famous white ground kylix in Munich by the Sabouroff Painter dating around 470–460 BCE an inscription accompanies Hera (*fig. 60 and 61*).[124] Did the painter want to demonstrate that he was a person capable to write or did he want to play it safe and avoid any misunderstandings about the exact identification of his masterly painted figure? The famous white ground *kylix* by the Villa Giulia Painter in New York (MMA, 1979.11.15) brings to light the visual ambiguity of Hera's imagery, since the standing female holding a sceptre and a phiale at an altar has been identified on equally well-founded arguments both as Hera and as a priestess (*fig. 62*).[125]

Besides this more or less athenocentric series of images, a bronze statue (about 80 cm high with its plinth) dating to the second half of the sixth century BCE and found next to the central stone pedestal inside a Doric temple near the ancient city of Metropolis in southwest Thessaly[126] demonstrates the ambiguity of attributes in the process of the visual construction of the divine in an artistic environment outside Athens. The figure wears a conical helmet, a bell cuirass, as well as greaves. Originally it held weapons in both hands, that are now lost, although remains of an object resembling a spear were found near the pedestal. The general iconography of a hoplite visualised through the martial attributes would suggest that we are dealing with a temple for Ares, but inscriptions from the site attest beyond any doubt that the temple was dedicated to Apollon.[127] The most famous cult statue of Apollon showing him with helmet, spear, and bow was that of Apollon Amyklaios outside Sparta as depicted on Imperial coins of Lakedaimon.[128] The above mentioned unique and indeed inexplicable statue of Zeus Philios belongs to the same category of iconographically puzzling images. It is obvious that variations based on local religious conceptions definitely played an important role in the concrete use of attributes and in a more general context in the visual constructions of the divine.

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[123] Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 718–719. On priests and priestesses holding a sceptre as a sign of their status, see most recently Connelly 2007, 87–88.

[124] Wehgartner 1983, 90–91 pl. I.

[125] Connelly 2007, 111–112 fig. 4.19.

[126] *AR* 1999–2000, 72–73; 2000–2001, 74; 2001–2002, 63; 2002–2003, 54; 2005–2006, 76.

[127] Intzesiloglou 2000.

[128] Lambrinudakis *et al.* 1984, 196 no. 55a–c and 314: "… unkanonische Darstellungen eines bekleideten und bewaffneten Apollon überliefert, in denen wohl noch frühe lokale, noch nicht ganz integrierte Komponenten des göttlichen Wesens verharren". Although such a statement reveals a quasi evolutionist approach, it stresses, nevertheless, the importance of local visual expressions of the divine.

Finally, a grave relief from Sardis (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4033) dating to the mid-second century BCE constitutes both a magnificent example for the use of attributes in a sepulchral context and a striking case for the interplay between language and image.[129] The *stepanephoros* Menophila, the daughter of Hermagenes, is shown in a naiskos-like stele accompanied by two much smaller mourning female figures, certainly servants (*fig. 63*). Directly above the image area an incised olive branch is shown, while behind the head of Menophila a basket, a book roll, and a lily are depicted. To the right of the figure the letter A is incised. The monument leaves no room for misinterpretations or over-interpretations, since the accompanying epigram (*fig. 64*) not only meticulously explains the image, but furthermore reinforces the power of the visual signs by explicitly referring to them in words:[130]

ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου	The demos honoured Menophila daughter of Hermagenes
	(wreath) (niche)
κομψὰν καὶ χαρίεσσα πέτρος δείκνυσι. τίς ἐντί; Μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα· Μηνοφίλαν. τεῦ δ’ ἕνεκ’ ἐν στάλᾳ γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλφα βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος, τοῖς δ’ ἔ(π)ι καὶ στέφανος; –	The graceful stone shows a subtle person. Who is she? The letters of the Muses are revealing it: It’s Menophila. Why are a lily and an A, a book and a basket and above them a crown engraved on the stone?

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[129] Pfhul – Möbius 1977, 141 no. 418 pl. 69. On the interplay between word and image, see more generally Vian 1984; Goldhill – Osborne 1994; Rutter – Sparkes 2000. Especially on *ekphrasis*, see Elsner 2002.

[130] Robinson 1923, 345–353; Buckler – Robinson 1932, 108–109 no. 111; Peek 1960, 248–249 no. 433 and 320; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 408–409; see also the similar epigram in *Anth. Pal.* 7.423.1–4.

ἣ σοφία‹μ› μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ᾽ αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθείς
ἀρχὰν μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἕν,
εὐτάκτου δ᾽ ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ᾽ ἄνθος
τὰν ἀκμάν, δαίμων ἅντιν᾽ ἐληίσατο. –
κούφα τοι κόνις ἀμφὶ πέλοι τοιῇδε θανούσῃ.
αἴ, ἄγονοι δὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα.

The book is the wisdom, the crown bore
above the head stands for the high office
(stephanephoros), the A (number one)
for being an only child, the basket for
the well-ordered virtue, and the blossom
for the youth's bloom stolen away by the
daemon. The earth around you may it be
light, for you who died in this likeness.
Alas, the parents, you left them only tears
and they have no children no more!

This extraordinary grave monument set up for the young Menophila, commissioned by the people of Sardis, constitutes an outstanding combination of private and public aspects of the deceased's personality.[131] Both in script and image the grave stele reveals in an unmistakable, obvious, and quite emotional way the most important characteristics of the deceased: intelligence, virtue, and successful public service as a *stephanephoros*.[132] At the same time the viewer receives the visual and cognitive information that Menophila was young and the only child of her parents.[133] The end of the epigram directly expresses the emotional loss of the parents, visually expressed through the mourning servants. The most crucial information is visually offered to the viewer via the attributes. The late-fourth century grave stele of Antipatros from Ashkelon found in the Kerameikos (Athens, NM 1488)[134] reveals a similar approach towards the exegetic and almost literal interconnection between word and image, although no attributes are involved.[135]

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[131] Pircher 1979, 54–55; Gutzwiller 1998, 265–267; Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 335–338.

[132] Connely 2007, 251–253.

[133] Compared to more usual attributes like the book scrolls, the lily and the alpha are indeed uncommon, Robinson 1923, 350. On the contrary, Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 337 suggest that "the inscription includes a caption for the figures, because these are figures whose meaning is, for the most part, not the conventional one". Admittedly, book scrolls, for example, were usually a male symbol, so that a book scroll must have been indeed an unconventional attribute for a female deceased. Nevertheless, the meaning of the symbol remained the conventional one: a visual sign for wisdom and literacy.

[134] Clairmont 1970, 115 (*ca.* 350 BCE); Scholl 1996, 272 no. 183 (end of fourth century BCE); Kaltsas 2002, 190 no. 376 (second half of fourth century BCE). On the contrary, Stager 2005, 427–430 dates the monument in the third century BCE.

[135] The relief shows a lion and a human being struggling with each other over the body of the deceased that lies on a bed. The bow of a ship with high prow is depicted in the background. A Graeco-Phoenician grave inscription states the name of the deceased, Antipatros from Ashkelon, the son of Aphrodisios, and that of the man who set up the grave monument, Damsalos from Sidon, the son of Domano. A Greek epigram below the relief explicitly refers to the image (μηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζέτω εἰκόνα τήνδε, ὡς περὶ μέν με λέων, περὶ δὲγ πρῶιρ᾽ ⟨ἐ⟩γκτετάνυσται. ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τἀμὰ

The famous Hellenistic epigram of Poseidippos appears slightly divergent from the quasi exegetic function of the epigrams on Menophila's or Antipatros' grave stelai that remain very closely connected with the images they were destined to accompany. The epigram elucidates some of the features of the Kairos statue made by Lysippos, without, however, functioning as a simple textual "prompter" for the comprehension of the statue's deeper meaning:[136]

Τίς, πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; – Σικυώνιος –
Οὔνομα δὴ τίς; – Λύσιππος – Σὺ δὲ
τίς; – Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ – Τίπτε
δ' ἐπ' ἄκρα βέβηκας; – Ἀεὶ τροχάω –
Τί δὲ ταρσοὺς ποσσὶν ἔχεις διφυεῖς; –
Ἵπταμ' ὑπηνέμιος – Χειρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῇ
τί φέρεις ξυρόν; – Ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα, ὡς
ἀκμῆς πάσης ὀξύτερος τελέθω – Ἡ
δὲ κόμη τί κατ' ὄψιν; – Ὑπαντιάσαντι
λαβέσθαι, νὴ Δία – Τἀξόπιθεν πρὸς
τί φαλακρὰ πέλει; – Τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ
πτηνοῖσι παραθρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
οὔτις ἔθ' ἱμείρων δράξεται ἐξόπιθεν –
Τοὔνεχ' ὁ τεχνίτης σε διέπλασεν; –
Εἵνεκεν ὑμέων, ξεῖνε, καὶ ἐν προθύροις
θῆκε διδασκαλίην.

Who and whence your sculptor? – From
Sikyon – And his name? – Lysippos –
And who are you? – Kairos that subdues
all – Why do you go on tiptoe? – I'm
always running – And why a pair of
wings on your feet? – I fly with the
wind – And why do you hold a razor in
your right hand? – As a sign to men, that
I am sharper than the sharpest edge –
Your hair, why is it over your eyes? –
For anyone I meet to take me by the
forelock – And Heavens, why are you
bald behind? – Because once I've raced
by someone with winged feet, he'll never
grab me behind no matter how strong
his desire – Why did the artist fashion
you? – For your sake, stranger, and set
me up on the porch as a lesson.

θέλων σποράσαι· ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καί μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτηι, οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες· Φοινίκην δ' ἔλιπον, τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι) and anticipates the puzzlement of an Athenian viewer right in its beginning. The sacred ship of the epigram has been identified with the one shown in the background, while the man holding back the beast is most probably personifying the friends who protected Antipatros. The lion (the λέων or εἰχθρολέων of the epigram) has been interpreted either as a literal reference to Antipatros' cause of death: attacked and killed by a lion, or as a death demon (Clairmont 1970, 116–117). I consider Stagers interpretation of the lion as a theriomorphic representation of Aphrodite Ourania / Astarte Shemayim (Stager 2005, 439–443) most unconvincing. In my view, the lion symbolises Antipatros' deadly fate, but is more than a simple death demon; it represents the threat that for some reasons the body could have got lost (a shipwreck?) and thus could not have been buried properly. The friends of Antipatros—obviously—did not win the battle over Antipatros' death, but, as stated in the epigram, protected the body, brought it to Athens and gave it a proper burial. I think that the ship in the background points to a shipwreck as the cause of Antipatros' death and that the "architecture" of the scene (Antipatros' body, the lion, and the lion's opponent create a triangle) was purposefully chosen, so as to match the well-known heroic scenes of two soldiers or mythical heroes fighting over a dead body in the battlefield.

[136] *Anthologia Graeca* 16.275. The lengthiest description of the statue offers the fourth century CE author Kallistratos in his sixth *ekphrasis*.

Several literary sources between the third century BCE and the twelfth century CE present descriptions of the celebrated statue,[137] but they don't offer a completely congruent picture of the Lysippian original, as has been repeatedly stressed.[138] For example, the scales, which are a common feature of the visual representations of Kairos are only referred to by the fourth-century-CE orator Himerios.[139] The beardless youthfulness of the figure is stressed only by Kallistratos and Himerios,[140] while the visual tradition preserved both beardless and bearded figures of Kairos.[141] Only the winged feet, the razor, the long hair at the front, and the baldness at the back of the head are common points of reference between the two categories of sources.[142] Regardless of the question about the reliability of our literary and iconographic evidence as well as the primacy of the visual over the textual sources or vice versa, all our evidence clearly demonstrates that such a complex figure like the Lysippian Kairos could only be visually constructed thanks to and based on an accumulation of various sophisticated attributes. Even if the ancient and byzantine Greek literary discourse does not refer to every single attribute present in the preserved archaeological sources, it does, nevertheless, illustrate how intensively people would think about the use and meaning of attributes.

Conclusions

Attributes are important agents of communication and they canalise the viewer's visual perception of the divine in a particular direction, without entirely confining it. Thanks to the attributes, divine and heroic images are definitely not an empty surface, upon which every single viewer can independently project his or her own conception of the divine. Attributes explain the essence and allude to the properties of a figure, they make it recognisable, distinguishable, or at least they attempt to do so. They tell a whole story without using thousand words. But still, attributes are not always as precise as an epiclesis: Artemis Phosphoros can be depicted bearing torches, but Poseidon Hippios is not exclusively shown riding a horse, but in most cases holding a trident. And yet, even the ambiguity or the absence, for that matter, of attributes can be and was actually applied as a meaningful and conscious artistic means. The early depictions of Paris' judgement that present the three goddesses in a generic manner without any individual characteristics make a point that goes beyond the simple rendering of a myth: they visually comment on Paris' decision making, for neither the goddesses' physical appearance nor their gifts would have made any difference. The decision was already taken by a power that is not even present, namely by Zeus. The scene of the woman holding a sceptre and sacrificing on the *kylix* in New York (*fig. 62*) plays with its own ambiguity and invites the viewer to think about the identity of the puzzling figure: is she Hera, is she a priestess, or is she a priestess pretending to be Hera? The visual equation of Odysseus' figure with Poseidon on the Cabirion class cup in Oxford (*fig. 56*) and the explicit identification of the figure as Odysseus through an inscription create and dissolve ambiguity at the same time, and as a result, they challenge the viewer to try and understand the artist's motives. Attributes can be more than simple signs of identification, although their main purpose surely was the definition of a figure's most important ontological features.

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[137] Lehmann – Kansteiner 2007, 101–110 present the relevant literary sources with a German translation.

[138] Borg 2004, 39: "keine der insgesamt sieben literarischen Beschreibungen entspricht auch nur einer anderen genau".

[139] Himer. *Or.* 13.1: ζυγῷ τὴν λαιὰν ἐπέχοντα. Allan 2005, 132–133 recognises close semantic similarities between Kairos and Hermes that were visually expressed through common attributes like the wings on their feet or the scales. On Hermes holding scales, see Zanker 1965, 35–37.

[140] Kallistr. *Statuarum descriptiones* 6.2: αἱ παρειαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄνθος ἐρευθόμεναι νεοτήσιον ὡραίζοντο ἐπιβάλλουσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἁπαλὸν ἐρύθημα; Himer. *Or.* 13.1: ποιεῖ παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἁβρόν.

[141] Ensoli 1995; Moreno 1995.

[142] Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 97–102.

In the context of visual perception and communication between image and viewer, attributes are an important and yet only one part of a whole complex of visual strategies. The context remains the most fundamental parameter for identifying a divine figure: on vase paintings the co-depicted figures, the broader mythological context of a scene delivers the decisive clues for the identification of a divinity that cannot be named immediately on the basis of its attributes. Not every divine figure is as easily distinguishable as Athena. In respect to statues centrally placed in the middle of a temple's cella, attributes were definitely not necessary for identifying the divinity in antiquity; every ancient visitor knew exactly which temple he/she was actually visiting. Attributes were, however, in this context the initial point for reflecting upon the conception of the divine: Why is Apollon Patroos on the Agora of Athens a *mousikos aner*? Why is Apollon in the Thessalian Metropolis a hoplite? Why does Demeter in Phigaleia have a horse head, snakes instead of hair and holds a dolphin as well as a dove in her hands? Pausanias is once more one of the most representative examples for someone visiting Greek temples and thinking—at least in some occasions—about the various ways the divine owners were represented in a specific form. Poseidippos' or Kallistratos' intellectual engagement with the Lysippian Kairos or Loukian's discussion and perhaps even intellectual invention of Herakles Ogmios' image demonstrate that by the third century BCE at the latest and even more emphatically during the Imperial period a highly sophisticated discourse was taking place that considered attributes not as visual products of myth and cult, but as an allegorical artistic medium.

Finally, attributes are cultural constructs, with very different functions in different periods. The Archaic korai and kouroi, which for the Lindians of the first century CE would have been *asamoi andriantes*, indistinguishable and for this reason disturbing images, for the Archaic viewer were *agalmata*, objects offering aesthetic delight *per se*, a polyvalent visual medium for the depiction of humans, heroes, and gods, and not a riddle to be solved. For reasons we are still unable to comprehend, the need to characterise divine images through attributes became increasingly intense from the early fifth century onwards. As soon as this process started, there was no way back. In the Hellenistic period divine images such as the Tyche of Antiocheia appear heavily overloaded with attributes: every possible aspect needs to be explained and the images are the visual product of concrete concepts leaving little room for ambiguities, but not entirely excluding free associations. The point is that such images have no mythological *curriculum vitae*, they have no past that can be evoked with just one or two attributes. In this respect, they are much alike Menophila. For a viewer passing by, Menophila was just another deceased. The attributes and the epigram on her grave stele were *the* elements that provided all the significant information. They made out of an image an existing person.

However, in order to fully understand the modes of depicting a figure—either divine or human—a viewer had to know the cultural context of the image and the local history of the place it stood. Otherwise, images such as the youthful Zeus wearing the *aegis* and the *gorgoneion* in Aigion, the hoplite-like Apollon in Metropolis, or the Dionysos-like Zeus in Megalopolis would have remained unsolved visual puzzles, and the esprit of the Cabirion class cup in Oxford (*fig. 56*) or the metanarrative of the early Paris' judgement scenes would have gone unnoticed. One needed to speak the same visual language with the images he or she was confronted with.

THE LIFE STORY OF A CULT STATUE AS AN ALLEGORY: KALLIMACHOS' HERMES PERPHERAIOS[*]

Ivana Petrovic

The poet Kallimachos was obviously particularly interested in gods' statues. In his opus we find statuary everywhere.[1] The settings of three of his six *Hymns* are festivals in which a cult statue plays a prominent role. In the *Hymn to Athena*, it is the ritual washing and dressing of a cult statue; in the *Hymn to Demeter*, it is a procession with a cult statue. The *Hymn to Apollo* starts with an account of the opening of the temple doors and the greeting of the statue of the god by the chorus of youths and the gathered worshippers.[2]

In the *Hymn to Delos*, the arrival of the ancient statue of Aphrodite at Delos and the local rituals performed in its honour are depicted.[3] The *Hymn to Artemis* offers an *aition* for the Ephesian statue of the goddess and the ritual dance performed by the Amazons.[4]

In the *Aitia*, an elegiac poem in four books narrating the origins of unusual rituals and cults, Kallimachos also mentions statuary frequently.[5]

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[*] I wish to thank the audiences at Durham, San Diego, and Erfurt for stimulating discussions. I am very grateful to Markus Asper, George Boys-Stones, and Marco Fantuzzi for their comments on the paper.

[1] On statues in Kallimachos' poems see Manakidou 1993, 212–253; Acosta-Hughes 2002, 284–288.

[2] On the role of statues in Kallimachos' mimetic hymns see Petrovic 2007, 126–177 with further bibliography.

[3] *Hym. Del.* 307–315.

[4] *Hym. Dian.* 237–250. See on this Petrovic 2007, 208–220.

[5] The extant fragments include the following references to statues: the Graces are usually represented naked, but on Paros they are wearing garments (*Aetia* 1, Fr. 7.9–14 Pf.); the statue of Artemis in Leukadia has a mortar on her head (*Aetia* 1, Fr. 31b–e Pf.); the tyrant Phalaris had a bronze bull in which he used to shut people and roast them alive (*Aetia* 2, Fr. 46 and 47 Pf.); the citizens of Lokri destroyed the bronze statue of Olympian winner Euthykles and were punished by Apollon (*Aetia* 3, Fr. 84 and 85 Pf.); two statues of the Lokrian athlete Euthymos were struck by lightning in one day, one in Olympia and one in his home town (*Aetia* 4, Fr. 99 Pf.); the most ancient statue of the Samian Hera was a simple plank of wood until Scelmis carved it into a human form; Danaos had one such simple statue of Athena set up at Lindos (*Aetia* 4, Fr. 100 Pf.); another statue of Hera at Samos has a vine around her hair and a lion's skin at her feet as spoils of Zeus' unlawful

Perhaps the best-known example, though, is a compelling allegorical interpretation of the statue of Apollon at Delos.[6] This particular statue of Apollon held the Graces in its right hand and a bow in its left. In typical Kallimachian fashion, the explanation is delivered in the form of a dialogue resembling the epigrams, which were usually inscribed on the base of the statues.[7] To the questions of the unidentified speaker, who asks why he is holding the Graces in his right hand and the bow in his left, the god himself offers an answer: he was more inclined to offer blessings than to inflict punishment.

In both *Hymns* and *Aitia*, Kallimachos displays a particular interest in old images.[8] However, whereas the statues in the *Hymns* are frequently described in their ritual setting, in the *Aitia*, Kallimachos is more interested in the origin and peculiarities of each statue. He displays considerable knowledge of the technicalities of statue production[9] and even offers conclusions about the development of their forms.[10] His remarks about the unusual attributes of cult statues, like the mortar on the head of the Leukadian Artemis, the vine and lion's skin of the Samian Hera, or the garments of the Parian Graces, are a testimony to his (and his audience's) familiarity with statue-types. In short, in the *Aitia* Kallimachos is something of an art historian, whereas in the *Hymns* his interest is primarily a religious one. Even when describing such unusual images as the Ephesian Artemis in the *Hymn to Artemis*, Kallimachos is more interested in the ritual dance performed around it than in its form.[11]

Unsurprisingly, statues are also frequently mentioned in Kallimachos' *Epigrams*.[12] However, whereas the statues mentioned in the *Hymns* and *Aitia* are venerable, archaic, or unusual statues referred to in the epigrams tend to be of a humble and modest nature. Even when the size of the

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children Herakles and Dionysos (*Aetia* 4, Fr. 101 Pf.); in Arcadia, there is a statue of the "strangled" Artemis (*Aetia* Frg. incert. libri 187 Pf.); the statue of Athena in Arcadia has a bandaged thigh (Frg. incert. libri 667 Pf + SH 276.)

[6] *Aetia* Fr. incert. libri 114 Pf. See on this Pfeiffer 1952; Bing 1988, 95; Manakidou 1993, 225–235; Acosta-Hughes 2002, 285–286. On the archaeological background, see von Hesberg 1988, 312–320. The fragment mentions the statues of Milesian and Delian Apollon and, as suggested by D'Alessio 1995, 20–21 and D'Alessio 1996, 548–549, possibly even a third, Argive object, associated with the horses of Diomedes.

[7] Zanker 2004, 101 draws an interesting parallel between Kallimachos' allegorical explanation of the work of art and contemporary "riddle" epigrams, real and fictional.

[8] Manakidou 1993, 212.

[9] See for instance Fr. 85 Pf. and Manakidou 1993, 224.

[10] See *Aetia* Fr. 100, 3 and Donohue 1988, 46–49.

[11] *Hym. Dian*. 237–250.

[12] On Kallimachos' epigrams see Meyer 1993; Meyer 2005; Bing 1995.

images is not specified, the implied occasion of the dedication or the dedicators themselves point towards small-scale objects.

Four epigrams focus on private dedications: a small statue of Pan along with other objects dedicated to Aphrodite by a retired prostitute;[13] an *agalma* for Artemis dedicated by a certain Phileratis;[14] a statue of a girl in the temple of Isis dedicated by her mother;[15] a bronze rooster dedicated to the Dioskouroi.[16] There is also a sepulchral epigram referring to the statue of an old nurse set up by her grateful nursling Mikkos[17] and a rather unusual and overly modest *ekphrasis* of an apotropaic relief of a hero, who describes himself as "small in a small doorway" (V. 2).[18] The only statue in the *Epigrams* that can be described as grand and conspicuous is a newly fashioned image of Berenike set up with the statues of the Graces.[19] However, Berenike is very much an exception in the epigrams, since all other statues mentioned in them are slight, small-scale objects.

In this paper, I shall pay close attention to Kallimachos' handling of statues in his collection of *iambi*, particularly in the seventh *iambos*. His treatment of the statues in the *Hymns*, *Aitia*, and *Epigrams* seems to correspond to the constraints of each genre, and I believe that this is the case with the statues in the *iambi* as well. If we pay special attention to Kallimachos' understanding and re-fashioning of the iambic genre, and to the general themes of the book, I think we can interpret the statues in it in a new light.

In his book of *iambi*,[20] Kallimachos dedicated three central poems[21] to statuary.[22] The sixth *iambos* is a dialogue about Pheidias' statue of the Olympian Zeus. The ninth *iambos* is a conversation between an *erastes* and the ithyphallic statue of Hermes. In the central poem of the collection, the seventh *iambos*, Kallimachos presents an ancient cult statue of Hermes Perpheraios that speaks of its origins and the institution of its cult in the city Ainos in Thrace.

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[13] *Ep*. 38 Pf.

[14] *Ep*. 33 Pf.

[15] *Ep*. 57 Pf. See Meyer, 2005, 162–163.

[16] *Ep*. 56 Pf. See Meyer, 2005, 196–199.

[17] *Ep*. 50 Pf. See Meyer, 2005, 163–164.

[18] *Ep*. 24 Pf. See Meyer, 2005, 188–189.

[19] *Ep*. 51 Pf. See Petrovic – Petrovic 2003.

[20] It is generally agreed that *iambi* were conceived and edited as a book by Kallimachos, while views on the number of poems in it and the manner of its organization differ. For a history of scholarship on this point, see Kerkhecker 1999, 282–290.

[21] The views on the number of poems in Kallimachos' collection of *iambi* vary. Generally, it is assumed that there were 13 poems in the collection, but some scholars understand the fragments 226–229 Pf. to be *iambi*, which would result in 17 poems of the book of *iambi*. For an overview and sensible discussion of the question, see Asper 2007. I adhere to Acosta-Hughes' view: he argues for 13 poems in the original collection, with the possibility of a later addition of further four poems, see Acosta-Hughes 2002, 9–13.

[22] On the statues in *iambi*, see Acosta-Hughes 2002, 265–303.

The text of the poem is very fragmentary,[23] but the *diegesis* is exceptionally detailed:[24]

VII 32 Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνίων θεός
Περφεραῖος Ἑρμῆς ἐν Αἴνῳ τῇ
πόλει τῆς Θρᾴκης τιμᾶται ἐντεῦ-
VIII 20 θεν· Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐδημι-
ούργησεν Ἑρμᾶν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς
ἐνεχθεὶς κατέσυρεν· ὁ δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν προση-
νέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἴνῳ θάλασσαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς
5 ἁλιευόμενοί τινες ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ
σαγήνῃ. Ὅτε ἐθεάσαντο αὐτόν, καταμεμψά-
μενοι τὸν βόλον πρὸς ἀλέαν σχίζειν τε αὐ-
τὸν καὶ παρακαίειν αὑτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν,
οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον[25] ἔφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὦμον παί-
10 σαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμ-
περὲς δὲ ἠσθένησαν· καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν
ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει· ἀπει-
πόντες κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασ-
σαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖτις ἐδικτυούλκησαν, θεὸν νο-
15 μίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῷ προσήκοντα κα-
θιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ
ἀπήρξαντό τε τῆς ἄγρας ἄλλος παρ᾽ ἄλλου
αὐτὸν πε[ριφέρω]ν.[26] τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρή-
σαντος εἰ[σεδέξαν]το τῇ πόλει καὶ [π]αρα-
πλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων.

Hermes Perpheraios, god of the Aineans"
Hermes Perpheraios is honoured in Ainos,
the city in Thrace for this reason.
Epeius, before the wooden horse, fashioned
a statue of Hermes that swollen Scamander
bearing off swept away. Thence it was borne
to the sea by Ainos, where some men fishing
drew it up in their net.
When they saw it, finding fault
with their catch, they tried to cut it up for
firewood and to make a fire for themselves,
but on striking it they were able to
do no more (?) than make a wound-like
mark upon the shoulder, before they were
completely worn out. And they tried to burn it
whole, but the fire flowed around it.
Giving up they cast it back down into the sea.
But when they caught it up again in their
nets, believing it to be a god or connected with
a god, they established a shrine to it there
upon the beach, and offered the first fruits of
their catch one handing it round from another.
When Apollon gave a response they received
it into the city and honoured it very much like
the gods.

The *diegesis* provides the plot of the poem, and the extant fragments reveal that it is composed in epodic meter (alternating iambic trimeters and ithyphallics) and that its dialect is literary Doric with Aeolic elements.[27] The statue presents itself speaking in the first person,[28] but there seems to be an element of dialogue here as well:[29]

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[23] For discussion of the text and detailed commentary, see Kerkhecker 1999, 182–196 and Acosta-Hughes 2002, 272–300.

[24] I use Pfeiffer's text and Acosta-Hughes' translation.

[25] R. Herzog (cited by Pfeiffer).

[26] Suppl. R. Herzog (cited by Pfeiffer). The conjecture is daring but plausible. See on this also Kerkhecker 1999, 185–186.

Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός,	I am Hermes Perpheraios, god of the Aineans,
ἔμμι τῶ φυγαίχμα	a by-work of the coward
......] πάρεργον ἱπποτέκτον[ος·	]builder of the horse
..... γὰρ [ὡ]νήρ	]for the man
.....σ]κέπαρνον αιδ.[	
]πται·	
]οἱ βα [ ] ά	
] .. [	
] [	
] [	
]ῆντο κἠποτη	
]μα....τα [	
ο Σκάμα[ν]δρος ἀγριωμένος	the furious Scamander
]ξαέρρας	raised up
] ν κατὰ ῥόον	downstream
]	
]ι με δικτύοις	me with nets
]	
]ον, ὦ Παλαίμονες	o, gods of the sea
]	
] το θηρίον	monster
ο[ ]	
]ον, ὦ Παλαίμονες	o, gods of the sea
ω [ ]	
ο [ ]ἄπωθε [τὸν φθόρον	throw away the piece of rubbish

lines 26–38 are missing

ποτ᾽ ἀστέρας βλ[επ	looking] upon the stars
καὶ τύχαμπυριξ [	and with good fortune [I will set you on fire][30]
ἔληγ᾽ ὁ μῦθος· κα [	his speech ended,
πυρδάνω ᾽πὺ λεπ[τῶ·	from a slender brand[
κἠγὼ ᾽π᾽ ἐκείναν [	and I against that[
ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐπῳδα[ῖς	with my incantations
οἱ δ᾽ εἶπαν [. . .]νε[	and they said
μὴ τύ γ᾽ αὖτις ἔνθ[ῃς	don't you come back"
ἦ, καί με πόντον [	he spoke (?) and me into the sea
ἦνθε σαυνιαστά[ς	a fisherman with a spear came.[

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[27] D'Alessio 1996, 627 n. 113 plausibly suggests that the Aeolic colouring is due to the fact that Ainos was an Aeolic colony.

[28] The first-person narrative with biographical elements is almost always compared to the epigrammatic voice. However, in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (*HH* 4.54–59), the god is also singing of his own birth and parentage.

[29] Text and translation: Acosta-Hughes 2002.

[30] Acosta-Hughes follows Barber's conjectures (Barber 1955) for lines 39–40: ποτ᾽ ἀστέρας βλέποντα / καὶ τύχαι ἐμπυρίξω.

ἔϱϱιψαν, αὖθι δ᾽ ἐξ ἁλὸ[ς	they cast me, but again from the sea [
π[.]ϱβαλον κατάγϱ[	
ἐ[κ] τᾶς θαλάσσας τ[	out of the sea

This remarkable poem provides the only evidence for Hermes' cult title Πεϱφεϱαῖος.[31] However, the cult of Hermes is well attested for Ainos. Almost all of the city's coins feature this deity. Especially interesting is a series of tetradrachms with a head of Hermes on the obverse and an ancient cult image standing upon the seat of a high-backed armchair on the reverse.[32] The image looks like an unworked tree-stump with a bearded head wearing a conical cap on top. R. Pfeiffer brought these coins into connexion with the seventh *iambos* of Kallimachos,[33] and the ithyphallic statue of Hermes has been identified as Hermes Perpheraios.[34]

The *aitia* of the god's arrival in Ainos and the institution of his cult are not that atypical. Aniconic images of gods were quite common in the Greek world,[35] and the belief that the ancient, wooden *xoana* possessed special powers was widespread. They were often believed to have reached their places of worship in an unusual way—sometimes falling from the sky, being washed up by the sea or waiting for their worshippers in the woods.[36] They were also sometimes considered to be dangerous, able to inflict blindness, madness, or sterility on their viewers. It seems that Kallimachos' account of Hermes Perpheraios, although not attested elsewhere, actually fits well into the traditional stories about aniconic cult statues.[37]

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[31] On the epithets Perpheraios, Perpheretas, and Phherpheretas, see Acosta-Hughes 2002, 298 with further bibliography.

[32] See May 1950, 57–65 and relevant plates.

[33] Pfeiffer 1934, 23–24.

[34] See May 1950, 57–65.

[35] See Donohue 1988.

[36] See Petrovic 2007, 172 with bibliography.

[37] As argued by Steiner 2001, 82–83 and Acosta-Hughes 2002, 297–298. Both draw special attention to the very similar story about Dionysos Phallen as narrated by Pausanias (10.19.3): "Certain fishermen of Methymna found that their nets dragged up to the surface of the sea a face made of olive-wood. Its appearance suggested a touch of divinity, but it was outlandish, and unlike the normal features of Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestess of what god or hero the figure was a likeness, and she bade them worship Dionysus Phallen. Whereupon the people of Methymna kept for themselves the wooden image out of the sea, worshipping it with sacrifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi" (Translation W.H.S. Jones).

Apart from aretalogy and folklore,[38] there is an anecdote which provides yet another, but rather different, parallel for Kallimachos' story about Hermes Perpheraios. Diagoras of Melos, a fifth-century-BCE poet infamous for his shocking act of divulging the secrets of the mysteries of Eleusis and the Kabeiroi[39] as well as for his atheism,[40] was said to have chopped up a *xoanon* of Herakles in order to make a fire to cook his turnips.[41] Clement of Alexandria relates this anecdote in the following manner: "Having taken hold of a Heracles made from a log—he happened, likely enough, to be cooking something at home—[Diagoras] said, 'Come, Heracles, now is your time to undertake this thirteenth labour for me, as you did for Eurystheus, and prepare Diagoras his dish!' Then he put him into the fire like a log".[42]

Diagoras tested the powers of Herakles by submitting his statue to the fire[43]—an unfair trial, since not even the legendary hero himself was able to pass this test. I see the similarity of this anecdote with the *aition* of Hermes Perpheraios in the equation of the statue with the deity and the use of a *xoanon* as firewood—Diagoras burned his statue, but the fishermen of Ainos witnessed the tremendous powers of Hermes when they attempted to do the same.

It has often been remarked that in this *iambos* Kallimachos plays with the idea of equating the god with his statue,[44] and incorporates the epigrammatic voice of the speaking object within the iambic genre.[45] But this is not really an innovative touch, since talking statues of Hermes appear already in Attic comedy.[46] So what is the point of the seventh *iambos*?

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[38] Acosta-Hughes 2002, 297 n. 50 sees Herodotos' account of the ring of Polykrates (3.40–43) as essentially the same motif occurring in a folk-tale.

[39] *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 1073.

[40] Cic. *Nat.deor.* 1.2; 63.

[41] Athenagoras, *Leg.* 4.1.6: Διαγόρᾳ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀθεότητα ἐπεκάλουν Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν Ὀρφικὸν εἰς μέσον κατατιθέντι λόγον καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβίρων δημεύοντι μυστήρια καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἵνα τὰς γογγύλας ἕψοι κατακόπτοντι ξόανον, ἄντικρυς δὲ ἀποφαινομένῳ μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι θεόν.

[42] *Protr.* 2.24 P: ὁ δ' Ἡρακλέα ἐκ ξύλου λαβὼν κατεσκευασμένον (ἔτυχε δὲ ἕψων τι οἴκοι, οἷα εἰκός) "εἶα δή, ὦ Ἡράκλεις", εἶπεν· "νῦν σοι ἤδη καιρός, ὥσπερ Εὐρυσθεῖ, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον τοῦτον ἆθλον καὶ Διαγόρᾳ τοὔψον παρασκευάσαι", κᾆτ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέθηκεν ὡς ξύλον (Translation G.W. Butterworth).

[43] On Diagoras and statues see also Donohue 1988, 148 and Scheer 2000, 230–234. Scheer argues that, since only the Christian authors relate the anecdotes concerning the statue of Herakles, they could be a late fabrication, but I agree with Jacoby 1959, 206 who contends that the anecdote represents an old motif.

[44] See, for example, Kerkhecker 1999, 195.

[45] Kerchecker 1999, 195 with bibliography.

Perhaps more attention should be paid to the fact that Hermes Perpheraios not only speaks, but also actually utters incantations. His speech is not only self-explanatory, as is the case with speaking objects in the epigrams, nor does it merely serve a comic purpose, as is the case with speaking objects in the comic fragments. Apart from telling the story of its origin, Hermes also uses his voice to stop his adversaries from harming him. Perhaps we should pay more attention to the power of this voice when analysing this *iambos*. As D. Steiner notes, both artefacts of Epeius—the Trojan horse as well as Hermes Perpheraios—are objects "whose external appearance belied (their) internal reality".[47] This point can be elaborated further. While the Trojan horse was mistaken for an *agalma*, but turned out to be a weapon of mass destruction for its worshippers instead, the statue of Hermes was supposed to be venerated as a god, but the worshippers mistake it for firewood and try to destroy it. The Trojan horse concealed armed warriors in its belly. Hermes turned out to be a powerful god, in possession of protective incantations. However, I wonder if there is a further point to be made here. Could Hermes Perpheraios be hiding something from the reader as well?

According to the ancient etymologies, the word "Hermes" stems either from εἴρειν[48] or from ἑρμηνεύειν.[49] Especially interesting is Sokrates' etymologising in the *Cratylus*, which seems to owe much to contemporary allegorical interpretations of Homeric epics, according to which Hermes represented λόγος.[50] Sokrates' interpretation of Hermes' name is allegorical as well. He could be ironic in his etymologising, but what seems to me significant is that Plato is not inventing an etymology for Hermes, but is relying on existing interpretations. Accordingly, we can conclude that Hermes was generally seen as *an interpreter and a messenger*. As an interpreter and a messenger, Hermes represented the powers of speech in all its manifestations, especially *exegesis*. Based on these premises, namely that Kallimachian Hermes, being a work of Epeius, is possibly hiding something, and that Hermes came to be perceived as a god of interpretation, I suggest that Hermes Perpheraios could point towards a *hidden interpretation*. Is Hermes' story actually an allegory?

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[46] See Acosta-Hughes 2002, 301 and Meyer 2005, 250–254.

[47] Steiner 2001, 83 n. 16.

[48] Plat. *Cratylus* 407e–408a: ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦτό γε ἔοικε περὶ λόγον τι εἶναι ὁ Ἑρμῆς, καὶ τὸ ἑρμηνέα εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἄγγελον καὶ τὸ κλοπικόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπατηλὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ τὸ ἀγοραστικόν, περὶ λόγου δύναμίν ἐστιν πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ πραγματεία· ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν, τὸ εἴρειν λόγου χρεία ἐστί, τὸ δέ, οἷον καὶ Ὅμηρος πολλαχοῦ λέγει, ἐμήσατό φησιν, τοῦτο δὲ μηχανήσασθαί ἐστιν. Ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων οὖν τούτων τὸν τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ τὸν λόγον μησάμενον – τὸ δὲ λέγειν δή ἐστιν εἴρειν – τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ὡσπερεὶ ἐπιτάττει ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης· ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ὃς τὸ εἴρειν ἐμήσατο, δικαίως ἂν καλοῖτο ὑπὸ ὑμῶν Εἰρέμης· νῦν δὲ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἰόμεθα, καλλωπίζοντες τὸ ὄνομα Ἑρμῆν καλοῦμεν (Well then, this name "Hermes" seems to me to have to do with speech; he is an interpreter and a messenger, is wily and deceptive in speech, and is oratorical. All this activity is concerned with the power of speech. Now, as I said before, εἴρειν denotes the use of speech; moreover, Homer often uses the word ἐμήσατο, which means "contrive". From these two words, then, the lawgiver imposes upon us the name of this god who contrived speech and the use of speech: εἴρειν means "speak" and tells us: "Ye human beings, he who contrived speech ought to be called Eiremes by you." We however, have beautified the name, as we imagine, and call him Hermes; Translation H.N. Fowler).

[49] Diod. 1.16.1–2: Ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τήν τε κοινὴν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνωνύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας, τήν τε εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων

In my opinion, this is exactly what it is. In the following section of my paper, I propose a new, allegorical, interpretation of the seventh *iambos* and maintain that its subject is archaic iambic poetry. If we pay attention to the context of this poem and especially to the characteristics of the iambic genre and its appropriation and re-fashioning by Kallimachos, we can perhaps unearth an additional, allegorical meaning of the seventh *iambos*.

The seventh *iambos* is positioned at the very middle of the book (if indeed the number of the poems in the book was 13), and it follows and corresponds to another puzzling poem about a statue—the sixth *iambos* on Pheidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia. So why do we encounter a speaking statue of Hermes in the middle of a collection of *iambi*? Does Hermes have a special significance for the iambic genre? How does he fit into Kallimachos' book? How does this poem correspond to its main subjects and motifs?

When the *iambos* originated in Ionia in the seventh century BCE, its recurrent features were the first-person narratives of embarrassing

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γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας διαταχθῆναι … καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας διδάξαι τοῦτον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι (It was by Hermes, for instance, according to them [sc. the Greeks] that the common language of mankind was first further articulated, and that many objects which were still nameless received an appellation, that the alphabet was invented, and that ordinances regarding the honours and offering due to the gods were duly established … The Greeks also were taught by him how to expound their thoughts, and it was for this reason that he was given the name Hermes; Translation C.H. Oldfather).

[50] See Baxter 1992, 125–126.

exploits or extravagant sexual adventures, harsh invective against personal enemies and censure of the ethical and sexual behaviour of individuals. The *iambos* was the quintessential poetry of slander and blame. The three canonical iambicists—Archilochos, Semonides, and Hipponax—styled themselves as marginal characters, rejected or wronged by their contemporaries, but nevertheless quite able to defend themselves with vitriolic poems so harsh that, according to the biographical legends, some of their enemies actually committed suicide for shame.[51] The power of the iambic invective fascinated later, especially Hellenistic poets, as is clear from fictional sepulchral or epideictic epigrams in which Archaic poets pursue their enemies even beyond the grave.[52]

The traditional inventor of the iambic genre, Archilochos of Paros, became its embodiment very early on. Taking his first-person utterances as genuine autobiography, as was the custom in antiquity,[53] the fifth century BCE sophist Kritias represented the *communis opinio* when he assessed the character of the poet in the following terms: "Critias censures Archilochus because he spoke very ill of himself. For if, he says, Archilochus had not made public among the Greeks such an opinion of himself, we should not have learned that he was the son of Enipo, a slave-woman, that because of his poverty and difficult straits he left Paros and went to Thasos, that upon his arrival he became an enemy of the inhabitants, and in addition that he spoke ill of friends and enemies alike. And furthermore, he says, we should not have known that he was an adulterer, if we had not learned it from him, nor that he was lecherous and arrogant, nor what is still more shameful than this, that he threw away his shield. Therefore, by leaving behind such a report and such an account of himself Archilochus was not a good witness on his own behalf".[54]

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[51] On the Archaic *iambos*, see West 1974. For *testimonia* concerning the Archaic iambic poets' quarrels with their enemies see West 1989, 1.63–71 (Archilochos); Degani 1991, 3–9 and Rosen 1990 (Hipponax).

[52] See for instance on Hipponax AP 7, 405; 408; 536; 13, 3; on Archilochos AP 7, 69; 71. For epigrams on Archilochos and Hipponax see Rosen 2007; generally for Hellenistic epigrams on poets: Gabathuler 1937.

[53] See on this Lefkowitz 1981.

[54] Critias 88B 44D.-K. ap. Aelian, *V.H.* 10.13 (= Archilochos fr. 295 West): αἰτιᾶται Κριτίας Ἀρχίλοχον ὅτι κάκιστα ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν. Εἰ γὰρ μή, φησίν, ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτην δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἦν τῆς δούλης, οὔθ' ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν ἐς Θάσον, οὔθ' ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. Πρὸς δε τούτοις, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν ᾔδειμεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οὔτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἴσχιον,

Archilochos' poetry was so shocking that it was forbidden in conservative Sparta.[55] According to Valerius Maximus, "the Spartans ordered the works of Archilochus to be removed from their state, since they believed that their text was shameful and indecent. They did not want the minds of their children to be defiled by it, lest it harm their morals more than it benefited their talents. Accordingly, by banishing his poetry they punished the best of poets, or at least the next to the best, because he had ripped to shreds with foul abuse a house hateful to him".[56] Considering that Archilochos famously boasted of throwing away his shield,[57] the Spartan disliking for his poetry is really no surprise.

On the other hand, despite his image as an *enfant terrible*, Archilochos was actually a figure of pan-Hellenic fame and by the fifth century BCE considered the best poet after Homer.[58]

To return to Kallimachos: How did he view the Archaic genre? To what degree did he incorporate Archaic voices, themes and settings in his own book of *iambi*? And what kind of picture of the Archaic poets emerges from the pages of this third-century-BCE book?

Kallimachos' book of *iambi*[59] opens with a poem in which Hipponax returns from the dead in order to address the men of the present day.[60] This Hipponax, however, is a changed man, since he came from Hades bringing with him an *iambos* that does not attack his ancient enemy, the painter Bupalos,[61] but rather summons the philologists in order to admonish them not to fight each other.[62] Even though he is summoning up Hipponax, Kallimachos dismisses the acerbic invective of Archaic *iambos* with its personal attacks and graphic descriptions of sexual exploits. Paradoxically, his Hipponax is not attacking anyone—he

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ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. Οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος μάρτυς ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτον κλέος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τοιαύτην ἑαυτῷ [περιάψας] φήμην (Translation D.E. Gerber).

[55] Plut. *Instit. Lac.* 34.239b.

[56] Val. Max. 6.3 ext 1 (p. 291 Kempf): *Lacedaemonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari iusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur: noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret quam ingeniis prodesset. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisam obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt* (Translation D.E. Gerber).

[57] Archilochos Fr. 5 West.

[58] See Blumenthal 1922, 1–8; Rankin 1977, 1–5; Clay 2004.

[59] On Kallimachos' *iambi* see Kerkhecker 1999 and Acosta-Hughes 2002 with bibliography.

[60] On the first *iambos*, see Konstan 1998; Kerkhecker 1999, 11–48; Acosta-Hughes 2002, 32–50; Acosta-Hughes – Scodel 2004.

[61] *Iambos* 1, Fr. 191, 3–4 Pf.

[62] *Dieg.* 6.1–6.

is rather a messenger of peace.[63] Obviously, Kallimachos is not imitating Archaic *iambi*, but creating a new kind of iambic poetry.[64] What are the subjects and the main concerns of Kallimachos' *iambi*? As is to be expected from a book opening with a poem in which an Archaic poet addresses the *literati* of Alexandria, most of them are poems about poetry: *iambi* 1–4, 12 and 13 are explicitly concerned with Kallimachian poetics. In the first *iambos*, the *literati* of Alexandria are admonished by Hipponax not to envy one another. The second is a satirical assessment of the quarrelling poets through the vehicle of an aesopic fable. In the third, the poverty of a poet is lamented, while in the fourth, a story about a contest between trees is the vehicle for a debate on poetic style. *Iambos* 12 is concerned with the value of poetry and *iambos* 13 is an answer to those who fault the poet for the variety of poems he writes.[65]

In my opinion, these are not the only poems in the collection dealing with poetry. Elsewhere, I have argued that the sixth *iambos*, describing the statue of Zeus in Olympia can be interpreted as an allegorical discussion of the reception of Homeric poetry.[66] I maintain that the statue of Zeus in the sixth *iambos* represents Homeric epic. The strange description of the statue, entirely concentrated on its measurements, is intended to mimic, with sarcastic implications, the logic of the critics who can only value huge size, and the imitators who want to follow Homer so closely they might as well tape-measure him.

It has often been observed that *iambi* 6 and 7 form a pair.[67] Both are epodes of alternating iambic trimeters and ithyphallics, both in Doric dialect, both are poems about statues of enthroned deities—one the most famous statue of the ancient world, the other a simple *xoanon*.

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[63] See Konstan 1998, 134.

[64] On the character of Kallimachos' *iambi* see Kerkhecker 1999, 291–295; Acosta-Hughes 2002; Acosta-Hughes – Scodel 1994 with further bibliography.

[65] As argued by Acosta-Hughes 2002, 32–47, Kallimachos is using the figure of Hipponax because Hipponax was famous for his attacks on the sculptors Bupalos and Athenis and a painter named Mimnes—all artists. Hipponax attacks them because of the aesthetic faults of their works and thus presents himself as a *critic of aesthetics*. What Kallimachos is doing by introducing the figure of Hipponax as a *literary critic* represents a shift in discourse: while the poet Hipponax criticised visual artists, the Kallimachian Hipponax *redivivus* is criticising Alexandrian poets. Thus, Kallimachos "employs the choliambic line (...) as a medium for the criticism of a poetic composition", see Acosta-Hughes 2002, 35.

[66] Petrovic 2006.

[67] See for instance Kerkhecker 1999, 182–183 and Acosta-Hughes 2002, 288 and 294–295.

A. Kerkhecker notes that "Olympian Zeus preserves remote silence. Thracian Hermes chatters away with garrulous loquacity".[68]

I think that this is especially important. It appears that the seventh *iambos*—the central poem of the book of *iambi*—consists entirely of a first person speech. Who else is supposed to speak in the book of *iambi* but the voice of *iambos* itself?

The life-story of the statue of Hermes bears many striking similarities both with the ancient biography of Archilochos of Paros and with the ancient assessment of the iambic genre. In the seventh *iambos*, Kallimachos does not assume the voice of Hipponax, but rather discusses the characteristics and reception of Archaic *iambos* in general, and the poetry of Archilochos, the *archegetes* of the iambic genre, in particular.

The following details seem to point towards an allegorical interpretation of the poem:

- Hermes describes himself as a "by-work of the coward, builder of the horse" (v. 2–3: ἔμμι τῶ φυγαίχμα /......] πάρεργον ἱπποτέκτον[ος). Φυγαίχμης means "fleeing from the spear, coward". Archilochos' profession that he fled the battle leaving his shield behind in order to save himself (Fr. 5 West) was one of the chief reasons for his notoriety in antiquity. On the other hand, the spear also features in the poetry of Archilochos.[69]
- The word πάρεργον ("by-work, subordinate or secondary work") fits perfectly into the ancient tradition of the high and low genres, since iambic poetry was a quintessentially low genre.[70] But why should the *iambos* be a "by-work of the builder of the horse"? The Trojan horse points at the heroic tradition, the epic and Homer.[71] Here one should perhaps consider the fact that the humorous poem *Margites*, written in mixed hexameter and iambic lines, was in antiquity commonly ascribed to Homer.[72] Kallimachos certainly thought that this composition was Homeric.[73] This statement may

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[68] Kerkhecker 1999, 182.

[69] Fr. 2; 98.5 West.

[70] The *locus classicus* is Aristoteles' *Ars Poetica* 1448b–1449a.

[71] See on this Ma 2007, 242–244.

[72] Arist. *Po*. 1448b–1449a.

[73] Fr. 397 Pf.: παράγει [...] εἰς μαρτυρίαν [...] καί τινα ποίησιν Μαργίτην ὀνομαζομένην Ὁμήρου. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ποιητικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ Κρατῖνος καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν εἶναι Ὁμήρου τὸ ποίημα (He (sc. Aristotle) is also referring to a poem, the Margites, which is ascribed to Homer. It is mentioned not only by Aristotle in the first

then mean that the origin of iambic poetry is Homeric, possibly even along the lines of Aristoteles' developmental account.

- The fact that the statue of Hermes is speaking is also significant. First of all, this is an object made out of humble material. Its form must have been crude, otherwise the fishermen would not have thought of using it as firewood. This suggests a low, crude genre such as iambic. On the other hand, one might also think of the common way of representing Hermes, in the form of an ithyphallic herm, which would certainly be an apt visual representation for a genre in which explicit descriptions of sexual acts play such an important role.[74]
- The god Hermes is the lowliest of the Olympian deities, being a trickster and the tutelary deity of thieves.[75] Hermes is often mentioned in iambic poems. A textually problematic fragment of Archilochos suggests that Hermes saved him in a battle;[76] Hipponax mentioned Hermes many times and obviously considered him a personal deity: he asks the god to provide him with a warm cloak, sandals, and money;[77] he mocks him as a friend of thieves and asks him for help;[78] yet another of his poems begins as a pious hymn to Hermes.[79]
- This particular Hermes lands in Ainos, hence he presents himself as Αἰνίων ϑεός (v. 1). This could perhaps be a pun: the word can denote the place where he was worshipped, but at the same time it also recalls the word αἶνος, *i.e.* "tale, story, fable".[80] In fact, Kallimachos uses this very word in the meaning "fable" in the fourth *iambos*[81] where the phrase "Listen to the fable" introduces an allegorical tale about quarrelling trees. Could it be that in the

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book of the Poetics, but also by Archilochos, Kratinos and Kallimachos in an epigram. They attest that it is Homer's composition). Harpocratio, *Lex*. s.v. Μαϱγίτης· Ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους οὕτω διὰ τὸν εἰς Ὅμηϱον ἀναφεϱόμενον Μαϱγίτην, ὅπεϱ ποίημα Καλλίμαχος ϑαυμάζειν ἔοικεν (Margites: The silly were called Margites after a poem ascribed to Homer; Kallimachos seems to admire it).

[74] On Herms see Osborne 1985; Wrede 1985; Rückert 1998.

[75] On Hermes see Eitrem 1913; Eitrem 1918; Vernant 1965; Siebert 1990.

[76] Fr. 95 West with Zieliński's conjecture of line 4: πῇ μ' ἔσωσ' Ἑϱμ[ῆς (How Hermes saved me).

[77] Fr. 32 West.

[78] Fr. 3a West.

[79] Fr. 35 West. See also Frg. 47.2; 79.9; 177.

[80] Clayman 1980, 36 considers the possibility of Ainos being a pun on the genre of Aesopic fable.

[81] Fr. 194, 6 Pf.: ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον.

seventh *iambos*, the word Αἰνίων should be a signal for allegory as well? After all, fable is almost always allegory and Kallimachos uses fable quite often in his *iambi*.[82] Finally, fables occur in the fragments of Archilochos as well.[83]

– The travelling statue of Hermes could be recalling the travels of many iambic poets: Archilochos left Paros for Thasos—an island very near to Thrace, the area where Hermes also lands; Hipponax was banished from his hometown Ephesos and settled in Klazomenai.
– The fishermen attack the statue, but its response is even more aggressive, since it defends itself with incantations—ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐπῳδα[ῖς (v. 44). This bears a striking resemblance to the ancient testimonies of the tremendous power of harsh iambic invective. According to the ancient biographical tradition, both Archilochos and Hipponax were wronged by their enemies. Archilochos was engaged to Neoboule, but her father Lykambes broke off the engagement. In response, the poet wrote verses so vitriolic that the father and his daughters hanged themselves. Enemies of Hipponax who caricatured his appearance also committed suicide after the poet slandered them in his verses.[84]
– The word ἐπῳδή used by Kallimachos in verse 44 is especially interesting. It means "enchantment, spell, charm for or against something".[85] However, ἐπῳδὸς στίχος was a *terminus technicus* for a type of metre Archilochos invented:[86] it denotes a poem composed in a combination of verses, usually trimeter iambic followed by a dimeter iambic. Hermes' ἐπῳδαί could thus represent a pun on the ἐπῳδὸς στίχος.[87] Archilochos not only invented this meter, but wrote some of his most vitriolic poems in it. Both the ancient poet and the statue of Hermes experience hostility and defend themselves using verse as a medium.
– Finally, the statue is accepted by the fishermen and is revered as a deity. Furthermore, Apollon, who orders the men to carry it into

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[82] See on this Acosta-Hughes 2002, 152–153; 173–175; Acosta-Hughes – Scodel 2004.

[83] See Fr. 174.1; 185.1. For a comparison of Archilochos' and Kallimachos' use of fable, see Kerkhecker 1999, 59–63.

[84] For the *testimonia* see West 1989, 1.63–71 (Archilochos); Degani 1991, 3–9 and Rosen 1990 (Hipponax).

[85] *Cf. LSJ* s.v.

[86] Ps.-Plutarch, *De musica* 28.1140f–1141b (p. 124 Lasserre); Hephaest. *Ench*. 21.14.

[87] As noted by Kerkhecker 1999, 193 n. 51.

> their city and honour it very much like the gods, confirms this status.[88] This could perhaps point towards the fact that Archilochos was one of the first Greek poets to receive a hero cult. It is uncertain how early his cult was established, but the earliest textual testimony comes in a quotation by Aristoteles of the late-fifth / early-fourth-century-BCE orator Alkidamas.[89]

The hero cult of Archilochos is extremely well attested, mainly thanks to several inscriptions from his sanctuary on Paros. The first is from the beginning of the fourth century BCE (the Dokimos inscription),[90] the second from the middle of the third century BCE (the Mnesiepes inscription)[91] and the third from the first century BCE (the Sosthenes inscription).[92]

The lengthy inscription of Mnesiepes is the most interesting one. It records that Mnesiepes didn't actually institute the cult of Archilochos, but constructed a shrine he called the *Archilocheion*[93] where the poet received offerings together with the Muses, Apollon Mousagetes, Mnemosyne,[94] Dionysos, the Nymphs, the Horai,[95] Zeus Hyperdexios, Athena Hyperdexia, Poseidon Asphaleios, Herakles, Artemis Eukleia,[96] and Apollon Prostaterios.[97] Mnesiepes stresses that the god Apollon gave his approval to this.[98] He records ancient local traditions[99] about the poet according to which Archilochos was initiated by the Muses as a boy.[100] Apollon had prophesied that he would be immortal and the subject of song among mortal men.[101] The poet soon invented the iambic genre and composed a scandalous poem for the festival of Dionysos, which insulted the citizens and they refused to perform it.[102] Soon however, they were punished with impotence, and the Delphic oracle proclaimed that they would not be cured until they "honour Archilochos, servant of the Muses".[103]

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[88] *Dieg.* 8.19–20.

[89] Alkidamas in Arist. *Rh.* 2.23 1398b11–17.

[90] *CEG* 2.674 Hansen.

[91] *SEG* 15, 517.

[92] *IG* XII 5, 445 (+ Suppl. pp. 212–214). For a thorough discussion of the inscriptional evidence for the cult of Archilochos with bibliography, see Clay 2004, 104–118.

[93] E1, 2, 17.

[94] E1, 2, 3–4.

[95] E1, 2, 10–11.

[96] E1, 2, 5–6.

[97] E1, 2, 11–12.

[98] E1, 2, 16–19.

[99] E1, 2, 20–22. This is quite important, since it testifies that the local biographical legends about Archilochos are much older than the foundation of the shrine.

[100] E1, 2, 20–38.

[101] E1, 2, 50–52.

[102] E1, 3, 14–42.

Considering the role of Apollon in the Parian biographical tradition about Archilochos and his approbation of the founding of the *Archilocheion*, I conclude that the statue of Hermes, whose cult was also instituted at the insistence of Apollon, in fact represents iambic poetry. Even his cult title *perpheraios* would in this context allude to the "passing of the poetry from mouth to mouth".[104]

Like iambic poetry itself, the statue is at first offensive to its audiences but, faced with its power and impact, they not only learn to accept it, but honour it greatly. In the context of an allegorical interpretation of the poem, it seems to me significant that the *diegesis* does not state that Hermes Perpheraios received divine honours: the exact wording actually points towards hero-worship, as it states that he was honoured "very much like the gods": [π]αραπλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτί̣μων. Archilochos too, was honoured *with* the gods and *like* the gods, but not *as* a god.[105] His was a hero cult.

The aetiological legend about Hermes Perpheraios is narrated in a very detailed manner in the *diegesis*. This is either because the story related by Kallimachos is unique or it is a version quite different from other known versions.[106] The legend about Hermes Perpheraios is unattested elsewhere, but there are parallels for this *aition*.[107] Perhaps Kallimachos was relating a local, otherwise unknown legend about Hermes Perpheraios in his seventh *iambos*. At any rate, it is highly improbable that he invented it. In my opinion, he narrated the story in such a way that it can be read as an allegory as well as an *aition*. The wording of the *diegesis* is awkward precisely at the points of narration dealing with the form of worship of Hermes and his divine status: the Ainians "believe it

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[103] E1, 3, 50.

[104] *Cf. LSJ* s.v. περιφέρω, 4. *to carry round, publish, make known*, pass., τοῦ Πιττακοῦ … περιεφέρετο τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα *was passed from mouth to mouth*.

[105] *Cf.* E1, 2, 16–19: χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ταῦτα, τόν τε τόπον / καλοῦμεν Ἀρχιλόχειον καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἱδρύμεθα / καὶ θύομεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ / τιμῶμεν αὐτόν, καθ' ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισεν ἡμῖν (Once Apollon had given this reply, we call the area the precinct of Archilochos, and we establish the altars and sacrifice both to the gods and to Archilochos, and we give him honours, according to the instructions the god gave to us in his oracle; Translation in Clay 2004).

[106] As argued by Acosta-Hughes 2002, 296–297, who also points out that this is precisely the case with the first *iambos*.

[107] See above, p. 210–211.

[sc. Hermes] to be a god or connected with a god;[108] they offered the first fruits of their catch one handing it round from another".[109] Even if the conjecture περιφέρων is certain, we still do not know what kind of ritual this is supposed to be.[110] Finally, the statue is honoured "like the gods". The divine status of Hermes seems to be under constant suspicion. This is unusual and leaves us with the question: Was it or was it not divine? If we consider the possibility that the statue was both divine, as a cult object in distant Ainos, and not divine, as an allegory of the Archaic iambic genre, then at least some questions posed by the text can be answered.

So, if the seventh *iambos* is an allegorical representation of the iambic poetry, what conclusions can we draw about Kallimachos' usage of statuary as metaphor for poetry?

Iambi six and seven form a pair, which is perhaps programmatically set in the middle of Kallimachos' book. In my opinion, the sixth *iambos* presents the Homeric epic as the most famous statue in the ancient world, *i.e.* the Olympian Zeus. The seventh *iambos* presents an autobiography of Archaic *iambos*, represented as a *xoanon* of Hermes. This juxtaposition speaks volumes about the status and significance of each genre. We have a statue in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary for the Homeric epic, which addresses a pan-Hellenic audience and a local Hermes Perpheraios representing a genre essentially composed to be performed in a specific locality for local citizens. However, whereas Pheidias' Zeus was regarded as the perfect representation of divine nature,[111] Hermes Perpheraios is strange, outlandish, displaced. Perhaps we could seek in this a glimpse of the impression the Hellenistic audiences had of a poetry that was composed centuries ago to be performed for a certain community, naming its individuals, addressing its members, relating to local events. Reading this occasional and performance-oriented poetry in a book in a Hellenistic period must have conveyed a sense of displacement.

But why would Kallimachos use statues of the gods as a metaphor for poetry? Perhaps because by the third century BCE, cults of poets were widespread in Greece[112] and poets were represented with statues in their places of worship. In Poseidippos' epigram[113] we have a testimony of a living poet referring to the heroic honours of his colleagues from a distant past, imploring Apollon to grant him the same favour as he did Archilochos.[114] This is how Poseidippos wishes to be commemorated:

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[108] *Dieg.* 8.14–15.

[109] *Dieg.* 8.17–18.

[110] Kroll 1963, 251–252 n. 2 suggested some sort of race. Kerkhecker 1999, 186 n. 14 tentatively considers a πομπή with bathing ceremony.

[111] *Cf. testimonia* 692–754 in Overbeck 1959.

[112] The era of Alexander's successors was especially important for the spread of the cults of poets, see Clay 2004, 94.

> ἔοιμι δὲ βίβλον ἑλίσσων
> + ἀμφω + λαοφόρῳ κείμενος εἰν ἀγορῇ.
> May I be set up in the busy marketplace reading a book-roll.[115]

Poseidippos not only desires heroic honours, but also wishes for a statue in the marketplace.[116] The statue would be the most visible and the most obvious marker of esteem for a poet and there must have been numerous statues of poets in the cities of the Hellenistic era.[117] The shrines of poets even became places of pilgrimage[118] and the cults of poets with pan-Hellenic fame thus became comparable to pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of the gods.

In literature, Archaic and Classical poets were often compared to the gods.[119] Perhaps this poetic device could be interpreted in the light of contemporary interest in Greek literary heritage. In the third century BCE, Archaic and Classical Greek literature gained an almost sacred status. In Alexandria, the Ptolemies gathered the best writers and scientists from all over the Greek world to work on editing and preserving Greek literature in the institution called the Shrine of the Muses. Even though Hellenistic poetry surpassed Archaic poetry in its refinement, the poetry of old was closely comparable to the ancient *xoana*, *i.e.* it had special, almost mystical powers. Much like the statuary of old, it had its shrine, *i.e.* the Alexandrian library, and its priests, *i.e.* the editors of the manuscripts. In this context, the word *priest* is not a metaphor at all, since the head of the Alexandrian library was actually a priest of the Muses, appointed by the king. The parallels between religion, art, and literature thus cease to be simply parallels, as the Hellenistic canonisation of the past is partially an adaptation of religious practices.[120]

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[113] *SH* 705.

[114] *SH* 705.10–16. Bing 1993, 621–623 persuasively argues that Poseidippos is in his epigram referring to the Mnesiepes inscription and demands for himself precisely the honours granted to Archilochos as described in the Mnesiepes inscription. The Mnesiepes inscription must have been known not only to the poet, but also to his audiences (Bing 1993, 622).

[115] *SH* 705.16–17.

[116] See also Clay 2004, 85–86.

[117] On the altar, image, and temple as core characteristics of local cults of poets, see Clay 2004, 95. Alternatively, a statue of a poet could be placed in the temple accompanying the statues of the gods or in the agora of their native city, see Clay 2004, 96.

[118] See Bing 1993, 622 n. 2.

[119] See Petrovic 2006 with further bibliography.

Also the level of general interest in the biography of the Archaic and Classical poets surges in the Hellenistic age. On the one hand, this interest was manifested in scholarly works such as Kallimachos' *Pinakes*, which included biographical and bibliographical information about distinguished men of letters from the entire Greek world.[121] On the other hand, the *bioi* of poets found their way into Hellenistic poetry. One example of such re-working of biography in poetry is Kallimachos' "Tomb of Simonides" in the *Aitia*,[122] but there are numerous other such instances, such as the aforementioned epigrams on poets, or catalogues such as Hermesianax' *Leontion*.[123] In an important paper, P. Bing refers to the intense antiquarian interest in poets long dead and gone during the Hellenistic era as a "memorializing impulse": "It consists, on the one hand, of the desire to honor the dead and keep their legacy alive. This includes the obligation to preserve and restore. We may, on the other hand, also see in this impulse an attempt to master that legacy, to assert control".[124]

Kallimachos' treatment of iambic poetry is a perfect example of the multifaceted nature of this memorializing impulse. By re-shaping Archilochos' *bios* to fit the *aition* of a cult statue, he expresses the desire both to keep the legacy of Archaic poetry alive, but also to assign it its place in the evolution of Greek literature and claim his own place and position in it. Archaic poetry may be truly important and valuable, but it is also ancient, displaced, and distant. As *xoana* according to Kallimachos represent a primitive way of representing the gods, which has been superseded,[125] so Archaic Greek poetry is to be marvelled at, but not directly imitated. However, like the Archaic *xoana*, the poetry of old still possesses inexplicable, tremendous powers and needs to be treated with due reverence. Reader, beware!

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[120] I owe this point to Markus Asper.

[121] On *Pinakes* see Blum 1977.

[122] Fr. 64 Pf.

[123] For a thorough discussion of this phenomenon, see Bing 1993.

[124] Bing 1993, 620.

[125] *Cf.* his commentary of the ancient *xoanon* of the Samian Hera before it was chiselled by Scelmus: ὧδε γὰϱ ἱδϱύοντο ϑεοὺς τότε (for thus did they then set up (the effigies) of the gods), *Aet.* 4, Fr. 100, 3 Pf.

ARCADIAN CULT IMAGES BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

Tanja S. Scheer

The naval battle at Aktion had consequences not only for the immediately involved opponents, but also for the Greek world. The aftershocks of this clash of enormous fleets shook the city of Rome. They also, however, reached the rather remote parts of the Roman Empire, such as the Arcadian territory and the cult images of its deities. Two Arcadian poleis were apparently particularly affected by this: Mantineia and Tegea. Both cities were located inland and shared the same Arcadian plateau. Neither Tegea nor Mantineia were likely to have been particularly prominent in the naval battle, for the incompetence at sea of the Arcadian mountain dwellers was proverbial until the Imperial period.

The fact that the battle of Aktion brought about unequal consequences for the two towns was due to their respective political attitude. In the Roman civil war, Mantineia had supported the victor Octavian. The other Arcadians, so Pausanias tells us, were allies of Marcus Antonius.[1] These partisanships did presumably not go back to well-founded preferences for one or the other Roman *triumvir*, but reflected inner-Greek discrepancies: Sparta sided with Octavian,[2] while the opponents of Sparta on the Peloponnese rallied around Antonius.[3]

The battle at Aktion gave the victorious party an opportunity for payoff. Friends were rewarded, but those who had sided with the wrong party had to pay for this mistake. The Athenians lost Aigina and Eretria, and the island of Kos was apparently forced to sell the famous painting of Aphrodite by Apelles on the account of having delivered shipbuilding timber to Antonius.[4] One example of friends being rewarded is the city of Kydonia, which put up resistance against Antonius and consequently was awarded autonomy by Augustus.[5]

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[1] Paus. 8.46.1.

[2] *Cf.* Böhme 1995, 78.

[3] *Cf.* also Paus. 8.8.12. See also Bernhardt 1985, 157 and Accame 1946, 144.

[4] *Cf.* generally Paus. 4.31.1–2. Athens: Bernhardt 1985, 199 n. 539; Kos: Strabo 14.2.19 (C 657); Plin. *Nat.hist.* 35.91.

[5] Diod. 5.78.2; Paus. 8.53.4.

The principle of reward and punishment found application also in Arcadia—at least according to Pausanias. Possibly in remembrance of the alliance at Aktion, the Mantineans established the cult of Aphrodite Symmachia,[6] but the Tegeans are said to have been punished: "The ancient cult image of Athena Alea … [was] carried away by the Roman emperor Augustus after his defeat of Antonius and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians except the Mantineans".[7]

Compared to the attitude of the Romans during the punishment of the rebellious Korinth approximately one hundred years earlier, the behaviour of Augustus appears downright moderate in retrospect. While the Roman conqueror Mummius had wiped Korinth off the map in 146 BCE, sold its residents into slavery or slaughtered them, the Tegeans "only" lost the *agalma* of Athena Alea.

The following contribution will focus on three basic questions:

- Which reasons moved Octavian, later Augustus, to proceed in this manner in Arcadia?
- What did this punishment concerning the cult image of their main deity mean to the Tegeans? What consequences did the removal of the cult statue have for sanctuary and cities in general?
- Which insights concerning the religious significance of cult images in Greece and Rome *per se* can be derived from the behaviour of Augustus and the Tegeans?

Augustus and the cult image of Athena Alea

The motivation of Augustus to carry away Athena Alea appears completely clear to Pausanias. On this occasion, Augustus is said to have acted according to a long-standing tradition of taking the cult statues from the defeated as a form of punishment.[8] In the passage that follows, the perieget cites a whole range of further examples, according to which this allegedly happened, for example the assaults of the Persians on Greek sanctuaries. It is, however, imperative to enquire more exactly here: Was it a force of habit that drove the victors? Was it the wish to weaken the religious power of the defeated? Was it general greed, or did Augustus specifically target the Athena Alea of Tegea because it represented the enemy and its allies in a particular manner?

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[6] Mantineia: Paus. 8.9.6. Accame 1946, 144; Jost 1985, 128; 509–510; Madigan 1993, 116; Bruit Zaidman – Schmitt Pantel 1994, 213–214.

[7] Paus. 8.46.1.

[8] Paus. 8.46.1.

Some circumstantial evidence points to the latter direction. The Tegean Athena offered herself as "hostile" deity in several regards. In the Augustan era, the Arcadian landscape was apparently often falsely perceived as wasteland. According to the geographer Strabo, only two of the Arcadian poleis were worthy of mention at all: Tegea and Mantineia.[9] If Mantineia, however, was siding with Octavian, then Tegea represented all the more the hostile pole of this territory. Tegea, with its main deity Athena, was the most important polis of the rest of Arcadia, which was siding with Antonius. If one then wanted to punish the opposing Arcadian party as a whole, it was more than obvious to direct one's efforts against Tegea.[10]

Even beyond the current behaviour of the Tegeans, however, the goddess Athena politically represented the enemy. In Athens, Marcus Antonius had boasted about a special connection with Athena. He even took an olive branch of Athena with him on his Parthian campaign as a protective symbol.[11] Whether the Athenians did symbolically wed Marcus Antonius with Athena is highly questionable.[12] Antonius did, however, regard Athena as a goddess favourably disposed towards him. Obviously, this impression had become known beyond his immediate environment.

In addition, one has to ask whether the behaviour of Augustus was aimed at weakening the religious potential of the defeated in favour of his allies or even in favour of the Romans. The fact that the abduction of Athena Alea did indeed reduce the religious potential of Tegea is without question. An ancient cult image, which had been the most important seat of the deity for centuries, was irrecoverably lost. Whether the goddess would accept another seat at which the Tegeans would be just as successful in establishing contact with their deity would have yet to be proven.[13] Interestingly enough, in this case, Augustus abstained from passing on the Tegean cult image to his allies and thereby from changing the religious landscape on this important Arcadian plateau for the benefit of Mantineia. This would have suggested itself as an obvious option. In the befriended neighbouring city, residents had also been admiring Athena Alea since ancient times, but their worship had never succeeded in measuring up to the significance of the Tegean cult.[14] In a similar case Augustus did not hesitate to utilise cult images as a means of reward and punishment. The colony of Patrai, founded in 14 BCE, received the image of Artemis Laphria from Aitolian Kalydon on the opposite side of the Korinthian gulf.[15] The synoecism of Nikopolis also left the Aitolian and Akarnanian temples to their fate. The images of the gods adorned the sanctuaries of the new victor city Nikopolis.[16]

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[9] Strabo 8.1.8 (C 388); *cf.* Alcock 1993, 24–26.

[10] Alcock 1993, 177.

[11] Plut. *Ant.* 34.1; Kienast 1993, 195.

[12] Sen. *suas.* 1.6–7; Dio Cass. 48.39.2; Scheer 2000, 278.

[13] Scheer 2000, 304–305.

In contrast to this, Athena Alea of Tegea was *not* used to strengthen the cultic importance of an ally. She rather became part of the Roman loot. Augustus' attitude here does not amount to the abolition or even annihilation of religious potential but merely to its relocation and appropriation. The cult image of Athena Alea was, after all, not destroyed but brought to Rome.

Against this background, it is not clear, however, why Augustus chose this particular statue. In his description of Tegea, Pausanias lists a relatively large number of sanctuaries and cult images that were dedicated to various gods and heroes.[17] So which advantages did the image of Athena Alea possess? Was it made of particularly precious material? Was it perhaps artistically valuable? Was the emphasis on the exceptionally old age or was it, like Athena Polias in Athens or Artemis Orthia in Sparta, among the small group of images which were believed to have fallen from the sky and which had special powers ascribed to them?[18]

Pausanias mentions the material of the Athena image. It was precious and in its own way definitely unusual. Athena Alea was made of ivory.[19] If the image was made of solid ivory, it should have been comparatively small. A construction made of wood and ivory would have allowed for greater dimensions. However, the fact that Athena Alea apparently survived the great temple fire in the year 395/94—which means that it was saved from a burning building relatively quickly—indicates at any rate a portable, rather than a colossal size.[20]

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[14] Athena Alea in Mantineia: Paus. 6.9.6; Jost 1985, 128.

[15] Paus. 7.18.7 and 8–10; Scheer 1995, 214–215; Auffarth 1997, 232–233.

[16] Nikopolis: Paus. 7.18.8; Strabo 7.7.6 (C 325).

[17] Paus. 8.44–45; Jost 1985, 144–146.

[18] Scheer 2000, 83.

[19] For the comparative rareness of pure ivory images, see Norman 1986, 426. For a possible explanation, see Lapatin 2001, 18.

If one assumes that it was a relatively small ivory image, the idea that it might have been an "image that fell from the sky" suggests itself. Modest size was a typical characteristic of these so-called *diopetē*. The word choice of Pausanias, however, speaks against this thesis. In contrast to particularly ancient (mostly wooden) images, which he calls *xoana*, Pausanias uses the word *agalma* in reference to Athena Alea.[21]

Furthermore, Pausanias names the artist who created the statue and by doing so precludes the possibility of a celestial origin of this cult image. The ascription of the Tegean Athena image to Endoios means that it was created at the end of the sixth century BCE and that its owners were aware of this fact. The image was hence not able to claim the merit of "having fallen from the sky". Being an ivory statue of Archaic style, however, it nevertheless created the impression of ancientness for beholders in the Imperial period. This was emphasized by its positioning: in the time of the battle of Aktion, the Archaic Athena was located in a considerably younger and stylistically divergent environment. Inherently, the sanctuary itself emphasised the old age of the image. Aleos, the founder of Tegea, was said to have built the first Athena temple. Pausanias ascribes the reconstruction of the Archaic temple after the fire to Skopas and praises it as far superior to other Peloponnesian temples in accoutrements and size.[22]

Arguably, the cult image of the Tegean Athena Alea was of relatively old age, but by no means did it rank among the oldest cult images of Greece. It was neither able to claim a tale of miraculous origin nor wonderful material. Staged in considerably younger surroundings, the resulting impression for the observer should have nevertheless been one of ancient preciousness. Perhaps two identifiably younger statues by Skopas intensified this impression, one Asklepios and one Hygieia, both of which could also be seen in the Athena temple, at least at the time of Pausanias.[23] Pausanias' passage reveals that Augustus did not extensively appropriate objects in Tegea: the statues by Skopas apparently remained in the city.[24] It was solely the Archaic cult image of Athena, which was removed from its classical base.

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[20] Norman 1986, 426 also advocates a small size. See also Østby 1994, 94 with further bibliography.

[21] Donohue 1988, 144.

[22] Paus. 8.45.5; Østby 2002, 139–147.

[23] See Norman 1986, 429, who convincingly assumes a secondary installation of these statues in the temple.

In view of this obviously selective targeting, the question as to why specifically this cult image evoked Augustus' interest arises once more. How did Augustus even know about its existence? And, if an Arcadian picture was desired, would there not have been older, more splendid, more exceptional or more famous alternatives? Such images apparently did not immediately suggest themselves. In the sources, no cult image for the cult of Zeus at the Lykaion, probably the best-known cult of Arcadia, is explicitly mentioned.[25] At the time of Pausanias, competitions no longer took place at the Lykaion; the golden eagle images of Zeus had disappeared.[26]

Without a doubt, respectable or even spectacular cult images would have been available locally. Pausanias praises the beauty of Athena's statue at the goddess' temple in Alipheira[27] and extensively describes, for example, the four-part cult image at the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura—a group of colossal statues created by Damophon in the second century BCE.[28] The accompanying legend, however, was only of local importance and the sanctuary itself was remotely located at the slope of the mountains.[29] It is likely that the technical effort for a removal would have been much higher. Another Arcadian tale, one concerning the cult image of the Black Demeter, horse-headed and with snakes in her hair, in a cave near Phigaleia seemed spectacular enough to Pausanias to justify climbing high into the Arcadian mountains in order to find this image.[30] Obviously, Augustus was not interested.

So what made the Tegean Athena Alea so attractive to him? As mentioned previously, this image was located at the largest and most representative temple in the city of Tegea. At the time of Pausanias, the temple was famous as the most beautiful temple on the Peloponnese. At the least, the non-monumental size of the image made an appropriation and transport practicable and relatively simple. Stylistically, the archaic cult image also arguably conformed to the personal taste of Augustus. Archaising and classicising tendencies have been frequently and convincingly related to the Augustan epoch.[31] This is one reason why even Damophon's most impressive Hellenistic marble statues were not able to compete in this case.

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[24] Paus. 8.47.1.

[25] Zolotnikova 2005, 107.

[26] Paus. 8.38.6–7.

[27] Paus. 8.26.7.

[28] Paus. 8.37.3.

[29] *Cf.*, however, the (highly speculative) theses of Mavrogiannis 2003, 134 regarding the significance of the sanctuary of Lykosoura for the Roman Palatine tradition.

[30] Paus. 8.37.3.

Even though the cult image of Athena Alea was not among the oldest in Greece, its significance still transcended mere local importance. As the apparently oldest image of the city, it referred back to the early times of Arcadian royalty during which king Aleos founded the sanctuary. Aleos' daughter Auge had served Athena as a priestess and had been impregnated by Heracles. As a result, her father had abandoned her, affording her the opportunity to bring an *aphidryma* of Athena to Asia Minor. This is the way in which Athena's cult is thought to have developed in the Hellenistic metropolis Pergamon, as a branch of the Tegean Athena Alea.[32] Consequently, Athena Alea was not only important because of the religious significance of the sanctuary, but also due to her international adaptability, which, in turn, resulted in symbolic capital for the self-portrayal of the city of Tegea. From the perspective of Augustus, the image of Athena Alea of Tegea then indeed suggested itself when it became necessary to take to Rome a representative symbol from the hostile part of Arcadia.

It cannot be proven, however, that every city or region, which had supported Antonius and Kleopatra, had cult images removed in a targeted act.[33] If it was part of the retribution objective of Augustus to transfer the oldest and most famous Greek images from the hostile regions to Rome, why then did the Athenians keep their Athena Polias, which was believed to have fallen from the sky, the Palladion, and the image of the Brauronian Artemis?[34] If, however, the objective was to take away as many ancient and Classical Greek originals as possible, why then were the Tegeans allowed to keep their statues of Asklepios and Hygieia created by Skopas? Furthermore, the Classical originals displayed in Augustus' new temple buildings appear to have been acquired by purchase.[35] Augustus apparently did not return from Greece with a systematically created collection of important Greek cult images as war treasures. At the end of his life, Augustus in fact pointed out the opposite in his *res gestae*: His opponent Antonius, he stated, had robbed the sanctuaries of the gods of their *ornamenta*, whereas he himself had given back the loot.[36]

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[31] Zanker 1983b, 34 and Zanker 1990, 244–246. Similar in Jost 1985, 380; see also Pape 1975, 64.

[32] Scheer 1993, 105–106 and 146 n. 447.

[33] *Cf.* Scheer 1995, 214.

[34] *Cf.* also Alcock 1993, 177.

[35] Zanker 1990, 242; for the installation of Classical originals, see Pape 1975, 145 and Zanker 1983b, 33–34.

Correspondingly, no persistent pattern of punishment of his enemies can be established for Augustus. It is quite possible that the removal of Athena's statue did *not* occur in the context of a general punitive concept, but that the "punishment" argument was used as a justification towards a city whose property one desired and which happened to have sided with the wrong party.

Why, though, did Augustus desire Athena of Tegea? In the second century CE, Pausanias reports that Augustus installed the image of Athena Alea of Tegea at the entrance of his forum in Rome.[37] Why all of a sudden did he develop an interest in an ancient Athena image, when usually the cult of Athena-Minerva rarely played a role in his religious-political measures? Whether Augustus himself came to Arcadia in the period of time prior and subsequent to the battle of Aktion is more than questionable. It is probable that he never entered Tegea.[38]

One possible explanation can be found in the specific connection between Rome and Arcadia, which was particularly emphasized at the time of Augustus. In the years after the battle of Aktion, this connection was to regain importance through Vergil, who began to work on his *Aeneid* in the twenties of the first century BCE.[39] The key function of this epic for the reorganization of the Roman origin myths is undisputed. And here the Arcadian emigrant Evander, as first settler on the *mons Palatinus*, played a central role.[40] In addition, Dionysios of Halikarnassos had described the emigration of certain Arcadians to Italy, as well as the ancient relationship of Arcadians and ancient Italic peoples in his *Roman Archaeology*, which was published in the year 7 BCE.[41] That the Arcadian descent of the Romans was already of importance to Augustus in the year 31 BCE in the form of an equalization of Pallantion and Tegea cannot be verified.[42] By the time of the inauguration of Augustus' *forum* in the year 2 BCE, the idea of an ancient connection between Rome and Arcadia did, however, have a permanent place in the representational concepts of Augustus.

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[36] *Cf.* Scheer 1995, 209–210.

[37] Paus. 8.46.4.

[38] Augustus visited Sparta in 21 BCE: Dio Cass. 54.7.2; *cf.* Halfmann 1986, 157–158.

[39] Kienast 1999, 385; Verg. *Aen.* 8.129–130.

[40] Rea 2007, 90–95.

[41] Generally on the local derivation of the Romans from the Greeks, see Kienast 1999, 384 and Hall 2005, 270.

[42] On this, rather speculative, Mavrogiannis 2003, 141.

Analogically, the origin of Athena Alea certainly played an important role for its use at the *forum* of Augustus. An original and ancient cult image from an area of Arcadia in which, subsequent to the battle of Aktion, one even located the grave of Anchises, underlined aspects of the Julian origin myth.[43] As it is well-known, the staging of this myth was of central importance for the self-portrayal of Augustus.[44] Statues of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius stood in the halls of the *forum* of Augustus; even the image of Venus at the temple of Mars Ultor makes reference to this.

The fact that the Augustan poets sometimes used Tegea/Tegeans as equivalent to Arcadia/Arcadian[45] gives reason for the assumption that the oldest and most important cult image of this city was able to represent Arcadia as such to outsiders. It is, however, rather improbable that, already in the year 31 BCE, the role of Arcadia was so important for the self-conception of Augustus that he felt it necessary to “acquire” an Arcadian original.

The sources remain silent as to where the victor of the battle of Aktion kept Athena Alea during the thirty long years between her looting and her installation at the entrance to the *forum* of Augustus.[46] However, in this context yet another motive for the robbery of Athena’s statue by Augustus has to be taken into consideration: the temple of Tegea was famous because of its beauty as a building but also for other reasons. The temple housed trophies from a great mythological tale. The representation in the *tympanon* of the temple facade referred to the votive offerings inside. It showed the hunting of the Kalydonian boar.[47] During this panheroic undertaking of mythical time, the victory trophies were awarded to the Arcadian hunter Atalanta. Atalanta dedicated these, the tusks and hide of the boar, to Athena Alea of Tegea. The testimony of Kallimachos attests to the presence of these mythological relics in the temple of Athena during the Hellenistic period.[48] The boar hide could still be found there at the time of Pausanias. Augustus, however, took not only the cult image of Athena from the Tegeans and brought it to Rome, but the boar tusks as well.[49] Pausanias himself saw them there in the gardens of the emperor: "Those in charge of the curiosities say that one of the boar's tusks has broken off; the remaining one is kept in the gardens of the emperor, in a sanctuary of Dionysus, and is about half a fathom long".[50]

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[43] Tomb of Anchises at Mantineia: Paus. 8.12.9; Jost 1985, 510; Madigan 1993, 116.

[44] Zanker 1968, 18.

[45] Ov. *met.* 8.317: *nemorisque decus Tegeaea Lycaei.*

[46] Zanker 1968, 17.

[47] Paus. 8.55.5. Jördens – Becht-Jördens 1994, 179.

This larceny of the boar tusks fits in perfectly with the surviving reports about the personal inclinations of Augustus. Suetonius, for example, describes Augustus' scientific interests and his collection of fossils, which he used to keep in his gardens and country villas: "His own villas were modest and he adorned them less with statues and pictures and more with terraces, groves and objects noteworthy for their antiquity and rarity; for example, at his villa at Capri, the collection of huge bones of sea monsters and wild beasts, so-called bones of giants and arms of ancient heroes".[51]

It is then quite possible that Augustus' priority after the battle of Aktion was not the cult image of Athena. The tusks of the most fearsome mythological boar to ever see the daylight in Greece could have been much more important to him than an Arcadian *agalma*. In this case, the hypothesis that the Tegeans lost their Athena only because it was known for the possession of the boar trophies far beyond Greece would at least have to be considered. The cult image of Athena would then have only served Augustus as a proof of identity for the genuineness of a famous mythological relic. And in this case, one also might be able to solve the mystery as to where this image of Athena was kept between 30 and 2 BCE: in the very gardens of the emperor, in company of its once most important votive offering; not for the purpose of being venerated, but in order to substantiate the identity of the boar tusks for the scientifically inclined. Ovid could have possibly seen the boar tusks there.[52]

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[48] Kallim. *Hym.* 3.219; Pfister 1909, 324–325; Scheer 1993, 42–43; Jördens – Becht-Jördens 1994, 178; Scheer 1996, 354–355.

[49] Paus. 8.46.1.

[50] Paus. 8.46.5.

[51] Suet. *Aug.* 72. Norman 1986, 426 n. 8. For Augustus' paleontological collection *cf.* Mayor 2000, 142–143 who supposes that the Kalydonian "boar tusks" of the Tegeans were prehistoric elephant tusks from the Pleistocene layers near Tegea. Their size could also point to this assumption.

[52] Ov. *met.* 8.288: *dentes aequantur dentibus Indis*; Mayor 2000, 142; Lapatin 2001, 9.

Wherever the victor deposited the spoils from Greece, and among it the cult image of Athena Alea, after his return, the inhabitants of Tegea had lost their statue forever.

Abandoned by the goddess?
The reaction of the Tegeans to the loss of their primary cult image

What consequences did a deed like that of Augustus have for the city concerned? It is unlikely that the Tegeans perceived the behaviour of Augustus as "ancient practice", customary in a way, as Pausanias suggests in the above cited passage.[53] Among Greeks that were at war with each other it was by *no* means customary to count cult images and sanctuaries of the defeated towards one's legitimate victory loot. Those who took the property of the gods, and this partially also applied to the sanctuaries of foreign poleis, were considered to be sacrilegious persons or lunatics.[54] Had this not been so, Pausanias would have hardly been able to describe many ancient and precious images in the sanctuaries of the Greek mainland in the second century CE.

However, the Greek contemporaries of Augustus had been forced to take note of the fact that the Romans felt differently in this regard.[55] Thus, Mummius, the conqueror of Korinth, and Sulla had won notoriety among the Greeks as blasphemers. The reputation of Mummius could not even be salvaged by the fact that he donated a part of the loot to Greek sanctuaries.[56] For the vanquished and robbed the only choice left was to turn to bitter irony. An attitude like that of Mummius, here definitely comparable with the behaviour of Augustus in the case of, for example, Kalydon and Patrai, was described by means of the proverb "to worship the god's with other people's incense".[57] Or they hoped for the anger of the aggrieved gods themselves, and told tales with satisfaction of the unworthy end of the blasphemer Sulla: "After these mad outrages against the Greek cities and the gods of the Greeks he was attacked by the most foul of diseases. He broke out into lice, and what was formerly accounted his good fortune came to such an end".[58]

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[53] Paus. 8.46.1.

[54] *Cf.* Polyb. 5.11.3; Scheer 1995, 215; Scheer 2000, 293.

[55] Aberson 1994, 209; Scheer 1995, 215–217.

[56] Pietilä-Castrén 1978, 117.

[57] Paus. 9.30.1.

[58] Paus. 9.33.6.

In Greece, the loss of old cult images that had received the prayers and offerings of the polis for centuries was thus initially the exception. If it occurred, temple fires or the ravages of time were more often the cause than hostile desecration. When such an image had survived the centuries, however, it itself had become proof for the goodwill of the deity; it was considered to be particularly pleasing to the god and reaped the benefits of divine protection. The conflicts between the Greek east and the emerging Romans confronted the Greeks for the first time with the new enemy's rapacity for treasures, which caused a lack in respect towards the votive offerings for the gods and did not even stop at the temple images.[59]

Did their goddess leave the Tegeans now that Athena had lost her most important image, her most important seat? Another case seems to point in this direction. Pausanias mentions the sanctuary of Athena at Alalkomenai, whose cult image had been carried off by Sulla.[60] The consequence of this violation is said to have been the abandonment of the sanctuary by the goddess and its subsequent decay. This, according to the tradition, could also be seen in the tree roots, which threatened to fissure the temple. However, the residents of Alalkomenai, insofar as they cared, would have always had the chance to win back the presence of their goddess. Only two things would have been needed: offerings and, if they attached importance to this, a new cult image.

An example from Arcadia reveals that offerings were definitely customary even when old cult images had been lost. At the time of Pausanias "only its ruins, which include a large altar of white marble" were left of the temple of Apollon Pythios at Pheneos, which was once founded by Herakles.[61] There, however, according to Pausanias, the Pheneatians still sacrificed to Apollon and Artemis. Once more, it shows that the loss of a cult image is not inevitably devastating for a cult. As long as an altar is usable, the cult can be continued.

Accordingly, the thread of life of the sanctuary of Athena Alea of Tegea was also not completely severed by Augustus' ravenous kidnapping of the oldest and probably dearest cult image. The city of Tegea was not irrecoverably left by its goddess, but its cultic potential was reduced insofar as an important seat of the goddess had been lost, a *hedos* at which she used to reside; an *agalma*, a special artefact which she used to take pleasure in.[62] After the loss of Athena's statue, the Tegeans could have theoretically met their cultic obligation even without a cult image present at the temple. A substitute was nevertheless provided: Athena Alea received a new seat in her temple. The approach of the Tegeans in doing so is informative: the most obvious option would have been to entrust a contemporary sculptor with the creation of a new glorious image. The Tegeans preferred a different solution. They procured an image from another sanctuary, the Athena Hippia from Manthourea.

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[59] For this phenomenon in general, see Pape 1975 and Pietilä-Castrén 1987.

[60] Paus. 9.33.6.

[61] Paus. 8.15.5.

This raises a large number of questions: Why was no new image produced? If origin and age were so important, why did Tegea not obtain an image with the correct epithet "Alea"? And why did the Tegeans collect their "new" Athena from Manthourea? The rejection of a new image may have been due to cost concerns. The Roman civil wars had bled the Greek East dry and many cities were in a desolate economic state.[63] It might have been just as important to the Tegeans, however, to reconnect the centre of their oldest sanctuary with the ancient tradition. The new "old" image seemingly appeared more fitting for this purpose. Both images were showing the armed, fighting Athena.[64]

Why did the Tegeans not try to find a "real" Athena Alea, however? After all, several sanctuaries existed in Arcadia in which the goddess explicitly carried this epithet. Such an ambition of the Tegeans might have held little promise, particularly if they desired the respective central temple image of the corresponding sanctuaries at Mantineia or Alea.[65] The cities concerned would have not released their own images willingly. To force them by means of military power was not an option in the age of Roman dominance and also would have been very unsuitable according to Greek tradition. If the aforementioned cities were in possession of "surplus" statues of Athena, fitting in form and material, one could have perhaps obtained an *aphidryma*, a sort of copy. But in such a case, the city would subordinate its own cult to that of another polis: Athena Alea of Tegea would become a secondary cult of Mantineia or Alea, and the claim of the oldest existing cult of this deity would be endangered. This would have been difficult to reconcile with the prestige mentality of the Tegeans, who took great pride in being the origin of other sanctuaries of Athena like the one in Pergamon.

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[62] Scheer 2000, 123–124.

[63] Alcock 1993, 13–14.

[64] Dugas 1921, 359–361 pl. 13; Jost 1985, 378; Norman 1986, 426. Based on this assumption, Madigan 1993, 116 considers the Tegean cult of Athena "a military one". Such a hypothesis, however, finds no sufficient substantiation in the existing evidence. For the fertility aspects of the goddess' cult, see Voyatzis 1990.

[65] Other cults of Alea: Mantineia: Paus. 8.9.6. Alea: Paus. 8.23.1.

So where did the Tegeans take the new picture from? Manthourea was a village near Tegea, at only a few kilometres distance from the city.[66] The age of this settlement as well as its political affiliation with Tegea becomes evident by the name of one of the Tegean *demoi*: the Manthureans were part of the synoecism, which resulted in the polis of Tegea. The new image was then not imported from a truly foreign town, but came from the *chora* of Tegea. Whether the village Manthourea had its own temple of Athena for Athena Hippia, which now had lost its central image, whether the settlement was long abandoned and its sanctuaries thus deserted, or whether they were ritually attended to at least once a year by Tegea is unknown to us. It is clear, however, that Tegea, as a sovereign power, claimed the entitlement to disposal of rural cult images. Additionally, it follows that a traditionally strengthened, divergent epiclesis of a cult statue did not render it useless for the intentions of the Tegeans. It was possible to install a statue previously venerated as Athena Hippia at the temple of Athena Alea and for that statue to embody the seat and name of the predecessor. Apparently, no particular renaming ritual was necessary. The renaming became factual as a consequence of the first offering of the city in front of the image during which one called upon Athena Alea. The approach of the Tegeans was apparently accepted beyond the borders of the polis and was not dismissed as a singular or even peculiar case. Pausanias reports that it was customary among the Greeks and Peloponnesians to acknowledge this statue as Athena Alea.[67]

Athena Alea as an example of the "relative" identity of Greek cult images

What insights for the assessment of the religious significance of cult images in Greece and Rome *per se* can be derived from the behaviour of Augustus and the Tegeans? Two central conclusions regarding the Greek treatment of cult images can be drawn:

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[66] Jost 1985, 142 and 380.

[67] Paus. 8.47.1.

1. The loss of a central ancient cult image does not amount to the demise of a sanctuary.
2. With respect to Greek and Roman statues, the designation "cult image" is a relative category. Cult images do not necessarily possess the stable individuality and identity of name and ritual that one likes to ascribe to them.

The ancient original image of Endoios was "kidnapped" by the enemy and robbed of its cultic honours. Apparently, this was not accompanied by the migration of a cult. At least, Athena Alea does not appear within the cultic life of the city of Rome.

A certain degradation of the image can be noted in this respect: the central cultic function as seat of the main deity of a polis in the best case gives way to a guard function in the vestibules of Mars Ultor.[68] Of course, every visitor is still at liberty to speak his prayer in front of this statue or maybe even pour a libation, if the mode of installation permits. In such a moment, the ancient ivory statue once again becomes a cult image; official celebration and sacrifices at the *forum* of Augustus are, however, directed towards Mars, not Athena.

By the same token, the possibility for an image to undergo a cultic enrichment exists. This happens in the case of the successor of the image of the "kidnapped" Athena Alea. The Athena statue of an insignificant hamlet on municipal territory could apparently be transferred within this territory without any problems. Even a divergent epiclesis, thus far commonly used locally, is not impedimental. Athena Hippia of Manthourea became Athena Alea of Tegea; accepted by the goddess herself, the Tegeans, the Peloponnesians, and finally by all Greeks.

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[68] See also Scheid 1995, 431.

SYNNAOS THEOS
IMAGES OF ROMAN EMPERORS IN GREEK TEMPLES

Dirk Steuernagel

In memory of Hans-Georg Niemeyer

Introduction

My paper is dedicated to a subject that has been relatively often discussed under various aspects: the *synnaoi theoi*, *i.e.* monarchic rulers, in this case Roman emperors, honoured and venerated as gods within temples of so-called traditional gods. My renewed discussion points to the active role of images in this context and to the question of whether the religious contextualisation of ruler's portraits required special modes of representation.

Images were certainly important for establishing a cult partnership between different deities within one temple, a "temple-sharing", as it was named by several historians. A standard formula in decrees by institutions of Greek cities says that the image of the ruler should be put up next to the image of the original owner of the temple. The latter appears in the dative case (τῷ ϑεῷ), whereas the ruler is mentioned as a co-partner (σύνναος or σύνϑρονος). The installation of the new image is a kind of constitutive action for the "temple-sharing". It happens "in order to make the ruler a co-partner": ἵνα ᾖ σύνναος τῷ ϑεῷ. In such formulae, moreover, is always clear who had been the first and original god and which deity was added later.[1] What will follow here is an investigation on the modes of visual introduction and legitimisation of cult partnerships.

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[1] The procedure of installing a cult partnership is described in some detail in two inscriptions from Pergamon (Attalos III as *synnaos* of Asklepios) and Athens (Iulia Domna as *synthronos* of Athena Polias), see Fränkel 1890 no. 246 = *OGIS* 332; *IG* II^2 1076 = *SEG* 21, 504; *cf.* the commentaries and interpretations by Nock 1972, 219–220 and 229–230; Robert 1984, 472–489; Robert 1985, 474–477; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 82–86; Damaskos, 1999, 280–285; Hitzl 2003, 111 with n. 73; for Iulia Domna: Trummer 1980, 113–117 and Paliompeis 1996, 165.

A brief look at the previous scientific discussion will be helpful to which A.D. Nock and S.R.F. Price have made fundamental contributions. In his article, published for the first time in 1930, Nock describes the elevation of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors to *synnaoi* as an extraordinary and rather rare religious honour, which could be granted only by the subjects, *i.e.* the Greek cities, to their rulers, inasmuch as the rulers themselves did not dispose directly of civic cults and temples.[2] On the other hand, the rulers had to accept the honour. This was not to be taken for granted. According to a famous episode from Suetonius' biography of Tiberius, this emperor tried to prevent his likenesses from being placed within temples amidst the images of the gods (*inter simulacra deorum*).[3]

Price, in his study on ruler cult in Roman Asia Minor, stresses even more strongly the reciprocity of relations established by means of "temple-sharing".[4] And much more determinedly than Nock, he postulates a subordination of the emperor and his image in relation to the "traditional gods". Even in the extreme case of temples, which were erected for a god and an emperor at the same time, the hierarchy, according to Price, remained a clear one. Thus, Trajan appears on coins of Pergamon standing next to the enthroned Zeus Philios, with whom he shared the temple at the peak of the Pergamenean acropolis. He looks like a person attending the real ruler (*fig. 65*).[5] In such visual arrangements, to believe Price, the religious authority of the Roman emperor was derived from the one exercised by the "traditional gods".

It is especially this aspect, which has been critically commented upon by M. Clauss. In Clauss' own view, expressed in his monograph on Roman ruler cult, the divinity of the emperor is linked exclusively to the ritual veneration that he personally receives. Thereby, and only thereby, an emperor could become a god independently from "temple-sharing" and the relation he might have had to "traditional gods" in such contexts. Clauss actually seems to deny that context of display and iconographic or stylistic features had any relevance for the meaning of an imperial likeness—or, at least, for its religious meaning: "Eine Gottheit ist eine Gottheit, gleichgültig wie man sie darstellt".[6] In my view, Clauss is overshooting the mark on this point.[7] He discards, together with the—debatable—results of Price's work, its fundamental and valuable methodological premise: that the images were to shape the perception of the emperor's person and to constitute the principal objects of a discourse on the divinity of the emperor.[8]

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[2] Nock 1972; for "temple-sharing" in the Hellenistic period *cf.* also Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994 and Damaskos 1999, 301–304.

[3] Suet. *Tib.* 26. *Cf.* Hitzl 2003, 100–102. Pekáry 1985, 147, rightly calls attention to the fact that Tiberius' restraint makes sense only against the background of a normal practice by which images of emperors were placed everywhere in the public and sacral spaces of the cities. A general duty of request or other legal restrictions (*Bildnisrecht*) probably did not exist, *pace* Niemeyer 1968, 18. Creations of new ruler cults instead must have been authorised, establishing thus a "system of exchange", see Price 1984, 65–77.

[4] Price 1984, esp. 146–156.

[5] Pergamenean coins: Stiller 1895, 53 fig. 3; von Fritze 1910, 84–85 pl. 8.12; Price 1984, 156 pl. 2c; Schowalter 1998, 240–241 pl. 33; Burrell 2004, 24–27 fig. 50 and 53. Actually the statue of Zeus seems to have been on larger scale than the images of Trajan and Hadrian in the temple: Raeck 1993; *cf.* Winter 1908, 232–234 no. 281–282; Blümel 1933, 15–16 no. R 35 and 22 no. R 52 pl. 33; Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 68–70 no. 28 and 30 pl. 17; Schowalter 1998 246–247 pl. 38; Burrell 2004, 27–28 and 321 fig. 23–25.

In this sense, by considering imperial portraits as media within communicative processes,[9] I will revisit some images of Roman emperors installed in then already existing temples of Greece and Asia Minor. The inquiry aims at syntactic relations, *i.e.* connections with images of other gods on display within the same contexts and with imperial images in other contexts. Thus, even correlations between centre and periphery of the Roman Empire will be analysed. The order of discussion is not a chronological one, since the historical formation of the "temple-sharing" phenomenon is not the main topic here.

Some formal, iconographic as well as stylistic qualities of imperial portraits from the Greek provinces will be the starting point. As has been already stated by P. Zanker, many portraits from Asia Minor differ considerably from portraits of the same rulers coming from Rome or Italy. By means of "deliquescent" (*verfließende*) facial features and an almost generic reduction of individual physiognomic traits and, in return, the massive impact of highly expressive formulae of dynamism, the Roman emperors appear as “inspired rulers”, driven by intrinsic supernatural forces. Exactly this kind of divineness and not individual exploits or outstanding virtues of the emperors are visualised. Actually, the de-individualisation is often strong enough to cast doubts on the identity of the emperor represented. A famous example is the colossal Flavian portrait (does it represent Titus or rather Domitian?) found beneath the neocorate temple at Ephesos.[10] Zanker explains these peculiarities of portraits from Asia Minor as reflections of Hellenistic royal portraits, still in sight of the sculptors in the public places of their hometowns.[11] It is, however, noteworthy that the tendencies briefly described are most strongly developed in portraits, which, like the Flavian colossus, once had been on display in temples.[12] Thus, we have to ask whether the intensification of expressivity was related to the function of images within a cult context.

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[6] Clauss 1999, 305; *cf.* the somewhat similar position taken up by Ando 2000, 210–212 and 215.

[7] *Cf.* Horster 2002.

[8] Price 1984, 205.

[9] My own approach is inspired in some respect by J. Tanner's study on Roman portraits of the Republican period (Tanner 2000). I will try to analyse contexts of images not only in search of preconditions for the creation of images (for this kind of context analysis, see, for example, Anderson – Nista 1988, esp. 61–62 and Gazda – Haeckl 1993, esp. 291–292. 297–298), but also by considering the appeal and the impact of images. This approach is a necessary consequence of the religious and historical starting point of my paper; *cf.* Gladigow 1994, 13: "Kultbilder sind … in einer religionshistorischen Analyse nicht als Objekte allgemeiner ästhetischer Betrachtung zu behandeln, sondern zunächst als 'Interaktionspartner' in einem kultischen Handlungszusammenhang: Aus der Sicht der Religionswissenschaft gehören daher Ikonographie und Pragmatik notwendig und aufs engste zusammen".

Three case studies

The temple of Artemis at Sardis

A closer look at the temple of Artemis at Sardis, in Western Asia Minor, may be useful for a deeper understanding of the problem. Construction of the temple (*fig. 66*) goes back to the early third century BCE and rates amongst the building projects sponsored in some way by the Seleucid kings. Only the inner part of the temple, cella and pronaos, were completed during the Hellenistic period, and it was not until the second century CE that work was resumed. During this new construction phase the temple was entirely reshaped. The pronaos was shortened, in favour of an extension of the cella, while the latter was, at the same time, divided into two parts. The thus created eastern room received its own entrance and its own cult image (base I). A new base (base II) for a cult image was built in the remaining western room. Furthermore, columns were erected for a pseudo-dipteral colonnade. This undertaking proceeded farthest on the east side of the temple, around the newly created cella room.[13]

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[10] Zanker 1983a, esp. 21. For the Flavian statue from Ephesos (now in the Izmir Museum, inv. no. 670): Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 67 no. 27 pl. 16.1; Zanker 1983a, 23 pl. 29.2; Merec 1985, pls. 20–24; Kreikenbom 1992, 102–103 and 213–215 no. III.93 pl. 19; Burrell 2004, 64. 319 fig. 26–27.

[11] Zanker 1983a, 24–25; with similar arguments Boschung 2002b, 135–137.

[12] Other famous examples are the heads of Trajan and Hadrian from the temple on the Pergamenean acropolis, *cf.* here n. 5; the portrait of Augustus with a strongly marked turn of the head from the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamon (Istanbul 2165): Hübner 1988, 336. 339 fig. 6–9 and Boschung 1993, 87 and 155 no. 107 pl. 75–76.1.

Observations regarding building techniques and decoration as well as epigraphic finds point to a date at about the middle of the second century CE for the architectural re-arrangement of the temple.[14] At the same time, an inscription attests a second neocorate for Sardis. Thus, the city was allowed for the second time to house an imperial-cult-shrine for the whole province of Asia.[15] The conclusion seems almost unavoidable that the Artemis temple was restructured and embellished to make it a suitable place for the worship of the Antonine emperors. Hence, these would have become *synnaoi* of Artemis.

The discovery of two colossal, partly hollowed portrait heads within the eastern cella demonstrates that this is what actually happened.[16] They belong to acroliths, made from different and multi-coloured materials. One head, only fragmentarily preserved, represents the emperor Antoninus Pius (*fig. 67–68*), the other his wife Faustina. The latter attains more than thrice life-size proportions; Antoninus' head is even bigger, nearly four times life-size. Other portrait heads, of similar dimensions, have been found in the porch and outside the temple. They represent the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*fig. 69*), as well as some female members of the dynasty who cannot be identified with safety.

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[13] The history of the Sardis temple has been reconstructed in different ways by various authors. Gruben 1961 (*cf.* Gruben 2001, 432–439) distinguishes three phases: I. Seleucid period: erection of the *naos* with shallow *opisthodomos* and deep *pronaos*, a platform connecting the temple to the (pre-existing) altar of Artemis in the west; dipteral colonnade planned, but not realised; II. second century BCE: temple building transformed into an *amphiprostylos* by the addition of porches in front of *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*; pseudo-dipteral colonnade planned, but only few foundations for columns laid on the east side; Zeus Polieus introduced as *paredros* of Artemis; II A. Antonine period: cella divided, more foundations for the pseudo-dipteral colonnade, some columns erected on the east side. Hanfmann – Frazer 1975 assumed the division of the cella to have happened already during the Hellenistic period, in correspondence to Gruben's phase II, when a supposed cult image of Zeus Polieus was introduced to the temple. This assumption turned out to be highly unlikely on the base of more recent investigations: F.K. Yegül and Th.N. Howe have demonstrated that building techniques of the division wall and the (second) western wall of the cella as well as of the column bases of the pseudo-dipteral colonnade are identical and belong to the last, that is the Roman imperial phase: Howe 1999, 205–209; Greenewalt Jr. – Rautman 2000, 673–676. Moreover, the sculptural fragment supposed to be a representation of Zeus Polieus with traits of the usurper Achaeus more likely is a portrait of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius: Greenewalt Jr. – Rautman 2000, 676 n. 84; Burrell 2004, 104–105; *pace* Kreutz 2007, 85–88 who does not consider these publications. Furthermore, Gruben's reconstruction has been contested also in terms of architectural concept by Howe, who sees the projecting prostyle porches in front of the two cellae as a typical feature of Roman, not yet Hellenistic architecture (Howe 1999, 205–206). The phases of construction are thus reduced to two: an early Hellenistic and a Roman-imperial phase.

[14] Gruben 1961, 182–183. The most reliable indication is offered by inscriptions, which were buried during construction of the pseudo-dipteral colonnade in the northwestern part of the temple; the latest of these inscriptions can be dated to the year 127 CE; *cf.* Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 52 and Butler 1925, 107. For architectural decoration *cf.* also Voigtländer 1975, 130 and 133; Pülz 1989, 74–77; Köster 2004, 89 n. 619 and 105.

[15] *SEG* 36, 1093; *cf.* Burrell 2004, 103–110.

[16] Portraits of Antoninus Pius (S 61.027.15:03489) and Faustina Maior (London, B.M. 1936-3-10-1): Butler 1922, 7 and 63–64. For the findings of other imperial portraits

These imperial likenesses differ conspicuously from contemporary portrait types. Some variations are best explained by particular exigencies of the colossal proportions. For example, the positioning of the heads at a great height required oversized eyes like those of Faustina's portrait. Otherwise the eyes, by means of optical distortions, would have appeared too small for the enormous face and would have seemed as if sinking into the skin surface.[17]

Using the head of Antoninus Pius as an example, further and fundamental differences between the Sardis portraits and other imperial portraits can be demonstrated. The comparison with a bust of the emperor at Castle Howard is certainly illuminating (*fig. 70*).[18] General physiognomic similarities and some distinctive iconographic parallels prove that the Sardis fragment represented Antoninus Pius as well. Thus, the left profiles of the two heads show coinciding hairstyle features; for example, beneath the lower lip, two strands of beard curled to the right and, below these, one to the left. Nevertheless, the sculptural perception of the material quality of the hair is a particular one in the Sardis fragment, showing the mass of the beard broken up into several, strong strands, separated by deep drills. Other particularities of the Sardis fragment are the large-scale, hardly articulated layout of the cheeks, the plain lips and, above all, the strong turn of the head, achieved by a strained movement of the neck.

Parallels for the characteristic manner of surface modelling and, still more, for the vigorous posture of the Sardis head appear among represen-

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from the temple see Butler 1922, 66–67 and 147; Greenewalt Jr. – Rautman 2000, 675–676 fig. 32 (Commodus or, more likely, Lucius Verus: S96.008:10484); *cf.* also in general Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 74–76 no. 40–41 pl. 26; Hanfmann 1975, 72–74 fig. 157–158; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 96–98 no. 79–88 fig. 196–201. 104–105 no. 102 fig. 223–225. 166–167 no. 251–252 fig. 434–435; Zanker 1983a, 20–21 pl. 13.5; Burrell 2004, 104–107. 320. 326 fig. 32–45.

[17] See Kreikenbom 1992, 113 and Burrell 2004, 318–319.

[18] Castle Howard / Yorkshire, Carlisle Collection: Zanker 1983a, 21 n. 51 pl. 14.1; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 65 n. 10 Beilage 41b+d.

tations of so-called father gods from Late Classical and Hellenistic times, like Zeus or Asklepios.[19] This may not be purely accidental, given that at Sardis Antoninus Pius is addressed as Olympios, an *epiklesis* inherited from his father Hadrian.[20] Nevertheless, we can recognise the same "Zeus-like turn of head", as G. Hanfmann has put it,[21] also in a portrait head now in the National Museum at Athens, which came to light near the temple of Apollon Patroos in the Athenian Agora (*fig. 71*). Remarkably enough, the traits of this emperor had been de-individualised up to a degree that one hardly identifies Septimius Severus at all. The hairstyle is the most important clue, while the physiognomic pattern could fit Antoninus Pius as well.[22] As P. Zanker notes, such a god-like mode of representation is rather seldom among imperial portraits from Greece.[23] In the case of the agora head one possible explanation is the positioning of the image within the temple, *i.e.* as a *synnaos* to the "traditional god" Apollon Patroos.[24]

We have already touched upon the question of how the imperial likenesses had been arranged within the temple of Sardis. According to their find-spots, the statues of Antoninus and Faustina must have stood on the base (I) in the eastern cella (*fig. 66*). In the western cella a cult image of Artemis is to be expected, even if nothing of it remains. By such a disposition, the *synnaoi* were neatly separated from the 'traditional goddess', but not necessarily subordinated to her.[25] We should bear in mind that the columns of the outer porch were erected first on the east side of the temple, in order to aggrandise this part of the temple in a special way.

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[19] See, for example, the bearded god, probably Asklepios, from Ostia (Mus. Ostiense Inv. 114): Zevi 1976, 60–61 fig. 21–25; Zevi 2001, 14–15 fig. 6 and 404 no. V.2 (C. Valeri).

[20] Burrell 2004, 103–104 with n. 23 (inscription Sardis IN 70.4).

[21] Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 96.

[22] Athens, National Museum 3563: Zanker 1983a, 29 pl. 26.1–2; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 95 no. 82 n. 2; Rhomiopoulou 1997, 109 no. 110; Kaltsas 2001, 355 no. 751. For the find spot see Shear 1935, 352–353 and Hekler 1935, 404; *cf.* Lippolis 1998–2000, 175–176.

[23] Zanker 1983a, 26 and 28. Disregarding specific divine attributes and paying attention to somewhat diffuse iconographic codes, one detects more frequent representations of emperors as gods, even beyond the Hadrianic period. In this way, I would like to modify Alexandridis' (Alexandridis 2004, 82–83 with n. 787) view on theomorphic representations of rulers in the Greek East of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, I fully agree with her doubts (Alexandridis 2004, 3) on the all too subtle distinction between different forms of visual divinisation like "deification", "assimilation", and "association dans le culte" (*i.e.* as *synnaoi*) proposed by Mikocki 1995, 7.

[24] The emperor Claudius might have been already accepted as *synnaos theos* in the temple of Apollon Patroos, see Torelli 1995, 22 with n. 100; *IG* II^2 3274. For the veneration of Septimius Severus' wife Iulia Domna together with Athena Polias *cf.* here n. 1.

[25] For the positioning of the imperial statues within the temple of Sardis: Price 1984, 151–152; Paliompeis 1996, 164–165; Burrell 2004, 104.

The temple of Athena Polias and Augustus at Priene

The temple of Athena Polias at Priene is another, no less revelatory setting for images of Roman emperors (*fig. 72*). Within the cella of the late fourth century BCE temple in this small Ionian town, R. Pullan found portraits of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty during the nineteenth century's excavations. The remaining parts of the portraits are slightly over life-size; the complete statues may have reached heights from about 2.00 m to 2.40 m. Again, the scientific editor of the sculptures, J.C. Carter, notes remarkable divergences from current portrait types, especially in the reduction of physiognomic characteristics.[26] I will not comment on this phenomenon further, since my interest is now directed to the original display of the statues. Photographs and other documents from the first excavations, in the years 1868 / 69, show some minor bases arranged in shape of a semi-circle around the large pedestal of the colossal Athena statue in the rear part of the cella: two bases to the north and one to the south of the pedestal (*fig. 73*).[27] Another base is probably to be detected in another of Pullan's drafts published by Carter: it looks like an approximately square object (lateral length about 1.30 m), pushed directly to the south-eastern edge of the big pedestal.[28]

Since the most obvious interpretation is that the imperial statues were placed on the bases around the pedestal of Athena, the impression of a royal household arises, the emperors paying their respects to the "traditional goddess" and owner of the temple. Thus, the divine emperors may appear subordinated to Athena. This is Price's point of view.[29] On the other hand, we have to consider that a screen separated the statues of Athena and the emperors from the rest of the cella, and from other statues on display there. During the first excavation, Pullan observed dowel holes attesting the former existence of such a screen in the pavement, which soon after disappeared due to pillage of building materials from the temple. Pullan documented the position of the dowel holes and sockets in sketches as well as in the plan published in the *Antiquities of Ionia*. The screen spatially removes spectators from the images. Similar devices are known from temples since Classical and Hellenistic times, like the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, and the temple of Herakles at Kleonai.[30] In any case, considering their position behind the screen, the imperial statues in the temple at Priene clearly stand out as compared with the other statues from the same temple and seem more intimately related to (the image of) Athena.

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[26] For the temple in general: Pullan 1881, 28–33; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 81–119; Koenigs 1983, 134–176; Koenigs in Rumscheid 1998, 118–133; on the imperial statues: Carter 1983, 256 and 283–290 no. 90–91 (Claudius, Divus Iulius); Paliompeis 1996, 153–155.

[27] On the arrangement of the bases: Carter 1983, 20–21 and 266–267.

[28] It is not clear whether Pullan observed this object in its original position, *cf.* Carter 1983, 225 and fig. 22–23.

[29] Price 1984, 150–151 and 179.

Moreover, one should not forget that the temple was not dedicated to Athena Polias alone, but in equal measure to the emperor Augustus. His name appears next to the one of the city goddess on the architrave.[31] Nothing remains of a statue of Augustus. The most probable location for such a statue would be the base immediately to the south of the Athena pedestal.[32]

The inscription on the architrave dates back to the period when the temple building, after a long time of stagnation, had been finally accomplished while the sanctuary was restructured once more.[33] The *temenos* was expanded on the east side and received a monumental gate.[34] A person entering the sanctuary through this gate must have caught sight first of the altar, which bore an inscription with the same wording as the one on the temple architrave.[35] Hence, the view was guided from the altar to the temple behind. As soon as the visitor entered the porch of the temple, he could read for the third time a dedication to Athena and the emperor, on steps leading from the pronaos up to the cella (removed in 1869).[36] The steps, laid out in the reign of Augustus on the initiative of a certain

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[30] Pullan 1881, 32 pl. 6; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 111; Carter 1983, 230–231 fig. 24. For other examples of screens see Corbett 1970, 152; Gladigow 1994, 15–16; Cain 1995, 124; Damaskos 1999, 209–210; Mattern 2002, 6.

[31] Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 157; Koenigs 1983, 174 Beil. 1.

[32] See here n. 28.

[33] For the building process: Rumscheid 1994, 42–45 and 179–192; Rumscheid revises older reconstructions and chronologies proposed by Schede 1934, 97–103 and Koenigs 1983, 170–174.

[34] For the history of the sanctuary see Rumscheid 1998, 106–117 and 133–136, and the important new insights offered by Hennemeyer 2003.

[35] Inscription on the altar: Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 126; Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, 158.

[36] Steps: Pullan 1881, 29 and 31; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 110; inscription: Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, 159.

M. Antonius Rusticus, allowed the visitor, probably for the first time in the history of the temple,[37] to get comfortably over the considerable difference in level between the outer and the inner part of the building. The visitor entered into the cella, accompanied by the cumulative effect of the inscriptions, and there he finally visualised, by viewing the images, a cult partnership that had been thrice invoked before. The polis Priene, thus, signalised its being part of the Roman Empire and in the same time stressed its own religious and cultural traditions. These aspects were complimentary in terms of social and political identity and did not necessarily need to be sequenced in hierarchical order.

The temple of Augustus (former Metroon) at Olympia

Still another kind of cult partnership is illustrated by a third example, regarding the small temple of the Mother of the Gods at Olympia.[38] Pausanias, visiting the place after the middle of the second century CE, did not see any image of Meter within the temple, but only images of Roman emperors.[39] The modern excavations confirmed the information given by the ancient Greek author. In the area of the temple, which in Late Antiquity had been demolished down to its foundations, fragmentary statues of the emperors Augustus, Claudius, Titus and a female belonging to the Flavian dynasty came to light.[40] Later on, other statues found elsewhere in the sanctuary have been attributed to the temple. An inscription on a block of the architrave mentions Augustus as the owner of the temple, addressed here as "saviour of the Greeks and the whole world".[41] Obviously, the building had been re-dedicated after an extensive restoration, which left clear traces on the *disiecta membra* of the temple's masonry. Nevertheless, the name "Metroon" remained present until Pausanias' time, perhaps because sacrifices to Meter were still offered on an altar to the west of the temple.[42]

Nevertheless, the biggest statue coming from the area of the temple, which must have reached a height of about 4.50 m, reveals iconographic relations not to Meter, but to Zeus. Only fragments have survived: feet shod with sandals, parts of legs and garment, a nude torso with a cloak that is wrapped around the right hip while its other end is falling down from the left shoulder, as well as parts of both arms and hands. The position of the shoulders indicates that the arms were stretched out sideward. Right arm and hand were lowered and must have held an object not heavy, maybe a bronze thunderbolt; the left arm was raised, bearing a sceptre. The head, unfortunately, is missing. Posture and costume of the statue are mostly appropriate for a representation of Zeus, and this was the interpretation, which, at the first moment, seemed quite natural to the excavators. Reading anew the text of Pausanias and combining it with the finding spot of the torso, they revised their first interpretation. In the final publication of the first excavations, G. Treu re-interpreted the statue as an image of Augustus in the costume of Zeus.[43]

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[37] Koenigs 1983, 160, deduces the existence of steps already in pre-Roman times from clamp holes beneath the soil of the cella.

[38] Dörpfeld 1892, 37–40; Mallwitz 1972, 160–163.

[39] Paus. 5.21.9.

[40] For the identification of the building see Dörpfeld 1880, 33. On the find spots of the statues: Hitzl 1991, 25–29.

[41] Dittenberger – Purgold 1896, no. 366; Hitzl 1991, 19–24.

[42] For the question of the altar, see Dörpfeld 1892, 38; Wernicke 1894, 96; Dörpfeld 1935, 1, 67–68; Hitzl 1991, 6–7. 9–14; Hupfloher 2006, 243 n. 2.

The colossal image may appear too big for the tiny temple building. It must have filled the height and width of the cella almost completely (*fig. 74*). Hence, associations arise of the Phidian Zeus as described by Strabo. According to the author of the Augustan period, the Olympian wonder of the world "was so large that, although the temple was very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry, for he showed Zeus seated but almost touching the roof with his head, thus making the impression that if Zeus arose and stood erect he would unroof the temple" (*fig. 75*).[44] Nevertheless, I think Treu was wrong when supposing that the colossal Augustus from the Metroon became a "rival" (*Nebenbuhler*) to the lord of the sanctuary. Pheidias' statue reached the ceiling seated, whereas Augustus was standing in an upright position. So, he might appear coequal to his neighbour Zeus, without challenging the rank of the "traditional god". Again, the images, by means of their iconography and arrangement, do express differentiation, not subordination.[45]

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[43] Treu 1897, 232–235 fig. 257–260 pl. 58.2; Niemeyer 1968, 108 no. 97 pl. 32; Maderna 1988, 161–162 JS 5 pl. 4; Hitzl 1991, 34–38 no. 1 pl. 2–7 and 63–64; Kreikenbom 1992, 158–159 no. III 7; Rose 1997, 147–149 no. 80 pl. 190; Boschung 2002a, 100 no. 33.1 pl. 79.1; Post 2004, 121–125 and 479 no. XI.1 pl. 57d.

[44] Strabo 8.3.30 (C 353). Translation H.C. Hamilton – W. Falconer.

[45] Treu 1897, 235: "Die Errichtung dieses Kolosses, welcher den neuen Weltherrscher an der heiligsten Stätte Griechenlands und in einem eigenen Tempel unter dem Bilde des höchsten Gottes darstellte, durfte um so mehr als eine der ausgesuchtesten Huldigungen hellenischer Schmeichelei gelten, als er damit nicht nur zum Nachbarn des olympischen Zeus wurde, sondern durch die gewaltigen Abmessungen auch zu seinem Nebenbuhler". A tendency to fill rather small temple cellas with over-large cult images is noticed already

For the rest, the statue of Augustus from the Metroon is the earliest representation of an emperor as Zeus in a standing position hitherto known—regardless of whether one ascribes it to the Augustan or rather to the early Claudian period. Thus, it seems likely that this kind of statuary representation was adapted for the first time for Roman imperial iconography at Olympia and in accordance to the particular relationship with the "traditional god" of the place.[46]

The standing Jupiter pose gained wider circulation during the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, in a slightly different version with inverted distribution of standing and free leg.[47] One example, bearing Claudius' portrait, is among the statues from the Olympian Metroon, others coming from Lanuvium south of Rome and Iader (Zadar) in the province of Dalmatia.[48] Hence, these statues provide evidence for the distribution of particular modes of representation within the context of ruler cult in the Roman Empire and for somewhat complex centre-periphery-relations. Developed first in the Greek province, due to particular circumstances of cult partnership with "traditional gods", the scheme then had been

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for the Hellenistic period, *cf.* Cain 1995, 123–124 and Damaskos 1999, 208–213; so the Augustus-statue from Olympia might appear as the latest of the Hellenistic cult images, *cf.* Hitzl 1991, 95. In the organisation of the sanctuary, conflicts between the cult of Zeus and the cult of the Roman emperors are avoided by unifying the respective priestly offices in one person, *cf.* Zoumbaki 2001, 136–138 and 150–152 with the comment by Hupfloher 2006, 254–255.

[46] For an Augustan date of the statue: Hitzl 1991, 70–76 and 94–95; Kreikenbom 1992, 68; Boschung 2002a, 103; Post 2004, 124 and 479; for an (early) Claudian date: Fittschen 1970, 545; Bol 1986, 305 n. 52; Maderna 1988, 19. A possible Hellenistic forerunner for the representation of a ruler under the guise of a standing Zeus is known from Pergamon, where Attalos II (or his father Attalos I?) is probably to be recognised in a statue coming from the temple of Hera Basileia: Dörpfeld – Ippel 1912, 259–266 and 316–325; Kreikenbom 1992, 30 and 132–133 no. I 34; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 105–107 pl. 3–4; Damaskos 1999, 137–149 pl. 5.10; Queyrel 2003, 50–52 pl. 68.2 and 69–70; *cf.* the dissident opinion of Schwarzer 1999, 295–298 (theomorphic representations not fitting the Attalids' conception of ruler cult).

[47] Post 2004, 121–142, distinguishes two statuary types: one deriving from a Lysippian model, represented by the Augustus from Olympia and another statue in Rome; the other imitating an early Hellenistic statue, represented by statues of Caligula (?) and Claudius from Olympia, Lanuvium, Zadar etc. Niemeyer 1968, 61 did not recognise any specific models for the imperial statues. Maderna 1988, 18–23 assumed two variants derived from one Hellenistic prototype, which she could not identify with safety.

[48] Post 2004, 480–487 no. XII 1–10 (with complete bibliography on CD-Rom). The earliest amongst these statues, according to Post, is one example from Zadar, bearing a reworked portrait of Caligula: Post 2004, 129–130 and 486–487 no. XII.9; *cf.* Boschung 1993, 80. After the Flavian period, such forms of statuary representation seem to have gone out of fashion or were used primarily for private likenesses, *cf.* Liverani 1994, 170.

adopted in Rome, and from here it was diffused to other parts of the Roman world, like the Danubian provinces, and maybe even re-imported to Greece itself.

It was not least of all the artistic mastery claimed by the Greeks and attributed to them by the Romans that fostered the reception of certain Greek formulae of ruler cult in Rome. It is remarkable that the statue of Claudius from the Metroon was signed by two sculptors, Philathenaios and Hegias, and even by one of their mates, Primos, particularly as signatures occur very seldom on imperial statues.[49] Furthermore, one could recall the story about Caius Caligula deliberating the transport of the Pheidian Zeus and other statues of Zeus from Greece to Rome. He wanted his own likeness to be put on the statues, which were famous not only for their religious dignity but also for their artistic value (*religione et arte praeclara*).[50] And the first statue representing Augustus as Zeus enthroned that we hear of in ancient literature was already modelled on the Zeus of Olympia: It was set up by King Herod in the temple for the imperial cult at Caesarea Maritima, together with a Roma following the no less famous Hera of Argos by Polykleitos.[51]

Conclusions

The way in which Roman emperors were represented in the context of Greek temples, in terms of iconography, style, spatial arrangement, and staging of their images, suits the establishment of a "cult partnership" with the "traditional gods", avoiding at the same time the impression of competition or rivalry between the partners. There certainly was a *differentiation* between "traditional gods" and emperors, articulated by different means in diverse contexts, but there is no perceptible visual subordination of the divine emperors. That the latter were seen as agents of the "real" gods on earth, exercising their power on grounds of divine rights, cannot be proved by the images discussed here. Against such views, expressed for example by C. Maderna and C. Witschel, I would like to suggest that it was just by their images placed in the old temples that emperors were equalised to the gods and integrated into the local panthea of the Greek cities.[52]

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[49] Hitzl 1991, 83–85. That craftsmen were not allowed to sign imperial statues or needed special permissions is, however (*pace* Hitzl 1991, 83), not demonstrated, *cf.* Burford 1972, 213 and Pekáry 1985, 14. Stuart 1939, 602 n. 1 offers a short list of signed imperial portraits of the Julio-Claudian period from the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

[50] Suet. *Calig.* 22.2.

[51] Joseph. *BJ*, 1.414, referring to a time between 22–10 BCE. *Cf.* Tuchelt 1981, 178 and Clauss 1999, 308.

Integration is probably the crucial point. The imperial rule of Rome needed local brokers for exercising its power all over the immense Empire, given the fact that the administrative and military machinery was comparatively weak. The brokers, by acting as imperial agents, gained influence within the borders of their hometowns and even beyond. From the viewpoint of the local elites, preserving the autonomy of the polis institutions and demonstrating loyalty towards the centre of power were two sides of the same coin. Religion was an adequate field for illustrating such relationships and, by doing this, to determine and communicate the social and civic identity of a certain community as a part of the Roman Empire. The gods of the polis admitted the divine emperors to their circle so that the latter should not appear as superimposed representatives of a somehow abstract world order without relation to everyday experience. Only local dignitaries could plausibly achieve this admission, and they usually appear to have done it spontaneously. In some cases they may have hesitated or even refused to do so, like the Jews denying access to their temple for an image of Caligula under the guise of Zeus Epiphanes. Interestingly enough, the Roman authorities regarded such a refusal as an act of rebellion.[53]

Yet, there is still another aspect. The divine emperors did not only receive, they also bestowed favours. The "traditional gods" participated in the imperial power when they accepted imperial images in their immediate vicinity. An almost direct effect was the completion or further adornment of temples, which we have seen in all three cases treated above. Not that this necessarily happened by order or with financial support on the part of the emperor. But it seems that only within the context of ruler cult, it was possible to tap new resources for the embellishment of old temples.[54] Furthermore, the ruler cult established privileged communication channels between periphery and centre, as we have seen here in terms of certain forms of statuary representation. And the existence of such communication channels benefits first and foremost the local dignitaries.

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[52] Maderna 1988, esp. 43–45; Witschel 1995, 255; *cf.* Ando 2000, 391–392. *Contra e.g.* Clauss 1999, 309–310; *cf.* Niemeyer 1968, 23 (statues of the emperors placed beside images of the gods "genießen durch die Synhedrie die gleichen religiösen Rechte, haben gleiche Funktionen wie die Statuen der Götter selbst").

[53] Joseph. *BJ*, 2.192; *cf.* Philo, *Leg.* 265 and 346. See also Pekáry 1985, 44; Auffarth 2003, 287–292.

[54] For Priene s. Rumscheid 2002, 78–80. The quality of workmanship of the restoration work at the Metroon at Olympia is poor, as has always been noticed. Hitzl 1991, 108

A last example may help to make my approach historically more concrete. Within the sanctuary of Apollon at Klaros, belonging to the Ionian polis of Kolophon, a row of honorary monuments is lined up along the so-called sacred way between the propylon and the temple proper.[55] A large part of them is dedicated to Roman proconsuls and other officials of the provincial administration through the Late Republican period.[56] Some of them were related to the city of Kolophon by (hereditary) cliental bonds. Thus, several members of the family of the Valerii Flacci were honoured as πάτϱων or πάτϱων διὰ πϱογόνων.[57] Another kind of relationship can be surmised in the case of Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, provided with extraordinary competences for the whole Roman East. He is πάτϱων not only to Kolophon, but to all Ionians. It is the Ionian confederacy that has dedicated his statue.[58] The first to have received an image within the temple, next to the statues of the Apollinian triad, was Octavian, who already had gained monarchic status, between 31 and 27 BCE. His statue was set up because of his "godlike deeds" ([ἰσο]ϑέους πϱάξεις) and his "benefactions" for the city of Kolophon and for all the Greeks in the world.[59] About twenty years later, the practice of erecting honorary statues along the so-called sacred way came to its end. The admission of the emperor as *synnaos*, an expression of a new, universal system of patronage, had prevailed over the duties of individual clientele.[60] And these patrons of a new type may well have been represented with less individual traits, but with clear iconographic references to their universal rule.

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n. 633–634 therefore posits that the lavish colossal statue of Augustus could have been paid for by an external patron, for example, by King Herod the Great who is a known benefactor of the sanctuary.

[55] Étienne – Varène 2004, 91–146.

[56] Ferrary 2000.

[57] Ferrary 2000, 334–337 no. 1–2 and 345–350 no. 5; *SEG* 51, 1586–1587 and 1590; *cf.* Tuchelt 1979, 61.

[58] Ferrary 2000, 341–345 no. 4; *SEG* 51, 1589. At Side, in southern Asia Minor, even "godlike honour" (ἰσόϑεος τιμή) had been granted to Pompeius: Nollé 1993, 333–335 no. 54.

[59] Ferrary 2000, 357–359 no. 8; *SEG* 51, 1593. For the universal character of the new Augustan ruler cult, see also Price 1984, 56.

[60] *Cf.* Ferrary – Verger 1999, 850. Tiberius, the second emperor, also attained a place within the temple, see Ferrary 2000, 368–370 no. 12; *SEG* 51, 1597; *cf.* Price 1984, 254 no. 26.

SIMULACRA DEORUM VERSUS *ORNAMENTA AEDIUM*
THE STATUS OF DIVINE IMAGES IN THE TEMPLES OF ROME*

Sylvia Estienne

Recent studies on cult statues in the Greek world have questioned the usual modern distinctions between "cult image" and "votive image", between "image of the god" and "image offered to the god". As a matter of fact, the gap between the modern notion of 'cult statue' and the literary and epigraphic evidence does not allow the identification of an unambiguous and coherent category of divine representations.[1] Nevertheless, the ancient sources clearly suggest that, in the spatial context of a sanctuary, not all the divine images on display have the same status.

Rather than trying to define modern criteria for a categorisation of divine representations that cannot possibly be corroborated by the ancient vocabulary and sources, it seems more relevant to understand the distinctions made in antiquity. In Rome, a clear hierarchy existed among the various images that were set up in the urban shrines. Suetonius reports that the emperor Tiberius "forbade the voting of temples, flamens and priests in his honour, and even the setting up of statues and busts without his permission and gave this only with the understanding that the images were not to be placed among the likenesses of the gods, but among the adornments of the temples".[2] In his comment on the *Georgica*, Servius makes the same distinction by explaining that "the divinity to which a place is dedicated is the one whose statue is placed in the middle, the others are intended only for the ornament."[3]

What are the implications of such an explicit distinction between the images of the gods, the *simulacra deorum*, and the ornaments of temples, the *ornamenta aedium*? Without ignoring the context in which such

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[*] I wish to thank Valérie Huet and Olivier de Cazanove for their help and advice.

[1] See, for example, Donohue 1997, 31–45.

[2] Suet. *Tib.* 26: *Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni, permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum, sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur.*

[3] Serv. *Georg.* 3. 16: *Ei enim sacratus numini locus est, cuius simulacrum in medio collocatur: alia enim tantum ad ornatum pertinent.*

differentiations appear, that is to say early demonstrations of "imperial worship", I shall question at first both the Latin terms used to define different categories of images and the network of connotations connected with them. Then I shall try to understand how the distinction between *simulacra* and *ornamenta* can be conceived from the point of view of religion and sacred law. Finally, after a more concrete, but brief examination of the problems, which arose from the introduction of imperial images in the shrines of Rome at the beginning of the Empire, I shall deal with the possible reflections of this distinction in the setup of the respective sanctuaries.

Simulacra *versus* ornamenta*, a matter of words?*

Does the differentiation made by Suetonius and Servius between *simulacra* and *ornamenta* imply an opposition between two categories of images intrinsically different, that is to say between 'sacred' images and 'decorative' images? Studies on the Greek vocabulary demonstrated the difficulties of a linguistic analysis in defining cult statues.[4] Although the Greeks had a rich vocabulary for specifying divine representations, connotations tied to each one of these terms vary according to the context. It seems therefore vain to search for a Greek term to verbally concretise specific variations of religious images. The Roman vocabulary is apparently less rich but more clear. When speaking about statues, the Romans had at least four terms at their disposal: *statua*, *signum*, *simulacrum*, and *effigies*.[5] We can add *imago* for a more partial representation (a bust).[6] The same statue can be defined by several different terms according to the context in which it occurs, even inside the same text. For instance, the statue of Divus Augustus that Tiberius and Livia dedicated in 22 CE, not far from Marcellus' theatre, apparently a cult statue, is called *signum* in the *Fasti Praenestini*, *simulacrum* in the comments of the Arvalian brothers, and *effigies* in Tacitus' *Annals*.[7] Cicero, when he speaks about works of art pillaged by Verres on Sicily, identifies a statue of Diana four times as *simulacrum*, three times as *signum*, but in four instances, he simply uses the name of the goddess.[8] Cicero, however, never uses the term *statua* to speak about a representation of a god. With a few exceptions, it is common to differentiate divine representations (*signum* or *simulacrum*) from human representations (*statua* or *imago*). *Effigies* is a more infrequently used term and can describe statues of both categories.

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[4] See Donohue 1988; Scheer 2000, 8–34; Bettinetti 2001, 25–63.

[5] On the Latin terminology, see Gros 1976, 161; Funke 1981, 663–664; Pucci 1991, 119–123; Lahusen 1995, 256–257; Estienne 2000, 11–139.

[6] See Daut 1975.

[7] *Fasti Praenestini*, for the 23rd of April, in *InsIt.* XIII, 2 l. 131: *Sig(num) diuo Augusto patri ad theatrum M(arcelli)/ Iulia Augusta et Ti. Augustus dedicarunt*; Scheid 1998, 30 no. 12c, l. 24–26: *A.d. IX k. Maias / [Taurus Statilius C]oruinus promagister collegii fratrum aruali[um nomi]ne / [ad theatrum M]arcelli ante simulacrum diui Augusti bouem [marem*

In Latin, *signum* and *simulacrum* are most often used to qualify images of the gods. These two words can often appear as synonyms. Nevertheless, *signum* is the most ancient and frequent term in inscriptions and classical literature. It designates the visible sign, which allows perception of the invisible, especially the divine. The various meanings of the word are indeed very wide and do not seem to include any particular religious connotation. More recent in its date, the word *simulacrum* more specifically describes the anthropomorphic representation of a divinity and can sometimes be translated as "cult statue". The analysis of a specific literary genre, the historical narratives, allows us to show variations and evolution in uses of both terms (*table 1*). Livius predominantly speaks of a *signum*, but only a third of the *signa* mentioned in his work are explicitly statues of gods. Since their divine nature is not clearly specified, we have to consider all those statues uncertain, which are vaguely referred to by Livius, because their exact status cannot be defined by their setup. They can be offerings, pieces of booty, or statues put on arches, and this does not reveal their *sacra* or *profana* nature. In the Livian narrative, *simulacra deorum* are in general linked to a shrine, often one outside Rome, but their status is not fixed. They can constitute an offering but also the main statue in the temple. Suetonius more readily uses *simulacrum* to indicate statues of gods, which apparently are to be distinguished from imperial and human images, as we have already seen in the passage quoted above, in which images of the emperor are indicated by the very common expression *statuae atque imagines*, clearly distinct from the images of the gods, *simulacra deorum*.[9] Nevertheless, we should not generalise from this purely semantic approach. Tacitus, for instance, much more often uses *effigies* without any obvious intention.

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immolauit]; Tac. *Ann.* 3.64: *Neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro Marcelli effigiem diuo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripserat.*

[8] Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.72–83.

[9] See here n. 2.

Table 1. The employment of the terms *signum*, *simulacrum*, and *statua* in historical narratives to name “statues”

	signum			*simulacrum*			*statua*		
Livius	**39**	**Images of gods**	**9**	**13**	**Images of gods**	**12**	**26**	Images of gods	0
		Imperial image	0		Imperial image	0		Imperial image	0
		Human being	1		Human being	1		**Human** being	**19**
		uncertain	**29**		uncertain	0		uncertain	7
Suetonius	**3**	**Images of gods**	**1**	**18**	**Images of gods**	**11**	**41**	Images of gods	2
		Imperial image	0		Imperial image	2 (+3)		**Imperial image**	**17**
		Human being	0		Human being	0		**Human** being	**21**
		uncertain	2		uncertain	2		uncertain	1
Tacitus	**3**	**Images of gods**	**2**	**13**	**Images of gods**	**12**	**19**	Images of gods	1
		Imperial image	0		Imperial image	(1)		**Imperial image**	**9**
		Human being	0		Human being	0		**Human** being	**6**
		uncertain	1		uncertain	0		uncertain	3
S.H.A.	**4**	**Images of gods**	**2**	**18**	**Images of gods**	**10**	**43**	Images of gods	0
		Imperial image	0		Imperial image	6		**Imperial image**	**35**
		Human being	0		Human being	1		Human being	6
		uncertain	2		uncertain	1		uncertain	2

Simulacrum is, therefore, a more specific term, but it does not exactly correspond to the notion of a “cult statue” in the restricted sense we use the term today. It can also refer to works of art displayed in temples or to images offered to the gods. It is not the function (cult image or not) that defines the *simulacrum*, but the nature of its representation: an anthropomorphic image of a god. In the passages of Suetonius and Servius already quoted above, *simulacra deorum* do not refer exclusively to cult statues, but to several representations in the shrines. They form, nevertheless, a quite consistent group, a category defined in contrast to the *ornamenta aedium*.

What, then, does the expression *ornamenta aedium* exactly mean? The concept of *ornamentum* is also very wide. It can mean either “equipment” or “adornment”.[10] However, it would be too far-fetched to reduce the Latin concept of *ornamentum* to the modern notion of “decorative”, as has already been rightly argued by P. Gros in his analysis of the use of these terms in Vitruvius’ work.[11] The *ornamentum* is *de facto* inseparable from the object it emphasises, with which it forms a consistent and significant group, as shown by the frequent epigraphic formula *cum ornamentis suis*. This is the reason why the term can characterise specific objects, but of extremely various nature: mouldings of an architrave in Vitruvius,[12] costumes of the theatre in Plautus, jewellery in female dress, figures of style in rhetoric, *insignia* of magistracies, marbles, columns and statues, which form the urban patrimony.[13] An anecdote quoted by Plinius demonstrates how the Romans conceived the adequacy between the god and the adorning of its temple. The decoration (*cultus*) of Jupiter Stator's temple in the portico of Octavius was perceived as female,[14] and the naturalist attributes this total unsuitability to an error made by the workers, who installed the statue of Jupiter in a temple reserved for Juno.[15] The historicity of this anecdote is debatable, but it, nevertheless, highlights the tight link between the god and the architectural adornment of its temple. It also reveals the importance of the dedication, signified here by the installation of cult statues. The term *cultus* used by Plinius is often synonymous with *ornamentum*, but has still a narrower meaning.

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[10] See Moussy 1996.

[11] Gros 2006, 389–397. *Cf.* also Gros’ comment on Vitr. 4.1.2 (Gros 1992, 48–49): “Loin d’être une adjonction gratuite, un décor surajouté et non nécessaire, l’*ornamentum* a une valeur signifiante, dans le domaine symbolique ou dans le domaine structurel”.

In the usual language, the *ornamentum* is defined in relation to the object with which it is connected. Nevertheless, the signification of the *ornamenta aedium* does not seem to consist merely of simple architectural temple decorations. To which images is Tiberius alluding, when he prescribes that his own statues should be erected among the *ornamenta aedium*?

A differentiation founded on law?

A passage in the *Saturnalia* allows us to consider temple's *ornamenta* from a different perspective, namely that of sacred law, and this throws a new light on the differentiation established by the emperor. Macrobius refers to the Papinian legal code in order to define the status of a table of offerings. He distinguishes first the sacred furniture, the *supellex*, which is of use for the performance of rituals, and the *ornamentum*, which results rather from offerings such as shields, crowns, *donaria*:

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[12] For the problems of translation of the Vitruvian text, see Gros 2006, 391–392.

[13] See Moussy 1996, 96–99 for the employment of such terms in Plautius and Cicero; *cf*. Thomas 1998 for the *ornamenta Urbis*.

[14] For a similar interpretation of the architectural forms, see Vitr. 4.1.7, who explains that the Doric order is "male", and the Ionic order "female": *ita duobus discriminibus columnarum inuentionem, unam uirili sine ornatu, nudam speciem, alteram muliebri subtilitate e ornatu symmetriaque sunt mutuati*.

[15] Plin. *Nat.hist*. 36.43: *In Iouis aede ex iis pictura cultusque reliquus omnis femineis argumentis constat. Erat enim facta Iunoni, sed, cum inferrentur signa, permutasse geruli traduntur et id religione custoditum, uelut ipsis diis sedem ita partitis. Ergo et in Iunonis aede cultus est qui Iouis esse debuit*.

> … for in shrines some things are classed as implements and sacred furnishings, other things as ornaments. Things classed as implements are regarded as by way of being instruments—that is to say, they are the things which are always used in the offering of sacrifices, and of these a table on which are placed the meat, drink, and gifts for the gods is reckoned to be the most important. But shields, crowns, and similar votive offerings are classed as ornaments, for these are not dedicated at the same time as the temple is consecrated.[16]

Thus, the differentiation is not simply functional, but also juridical. According to Macrobius, the *ornamenta* differ from the *supellex* because they are given after the dedication and, therefore, do not follow the same patrimonial regime.

As a matter of fact, jurists establish a difference between the sanctuary on the one hand and the offerings and properties given to it on the other hand. The shrine and its furniture fall within the category of *res nullius in bonis* ("things belonging to nobody") and are a "founding estate", definitely inalienable, while offerings, inheritances and other properties allocated to the shrine are a "heritage of allocation", the unavailability of which can be raised (it becomes literally *profanum*).[17] *Ornamenta* belong to the second category: they are sacred as long as they are assigned to the temple, but they can be alienated and can change status from sacred to profane. Several examples help us to understand better the status of the *ornamenta* in their *de iure* definition.

In the law regarding the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Liber in Furfo, in the country of Vestini, the following is prescribed:

> If an object is given, offered and consecrated into this temple, let it be allowed to use it, to sell it; when it will be sold, it will be profane. The sale, the adjudication will fall within the competence of the aedile elected by the inhabitants of the vicus of Furfo only when the aediles will consider they can do it without violating divine and human laws; no one else will

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[16] Macr. *Sat.* 3.11.5–6: *Namque in fanis alia uasorum sunt et sacrae supellectilis, alia ornamentorum. Quae uasorum sunt instrumenti instar habent, quibus semper sacrificia conficiuntur, quarum rerum principem locum obtinet mensa in qua epulae libationesque et stipes reponuntur. Ornamenta uero sunt clipei, coronae et cuiuscemodi donaria. Neque enim dedicantur eo tempore quo delubra sacrantur, at vero mensa arulaeque eodem die quo aedes ipsa dedicari solent, unde mensa hoc ritu dedicata in templo arae usum et religionem obtinet puluinaris* (Translation P.V. Davies).

[17] Thomas 2002, 1442–1447.

> be able to do it. With the money gained by the sale, let it be allowed to buy, to rent, to adjudicate, to make offerings, for improvement and promotion of this temple; the money which will have been given for these operations will be profane, if it was not dishonestly gained. All things, bronze or silver, acquired with the money given to the temple, for all these things will be applied the same regime, as though they had been dedicated.[18]

If the interpretation of the Papinian legal code given by Macrobius is reliable, we have to understand that the *ornamentum* of a temple forms a patrimonial whole constituted by donations of all kinds made to the gods. The objects, which belong to it, can be moved, sold, or transformed.[19]

Therefore, in order to do works on the Capitol, the Roman censors do not hesitate to remove superfluous *ornamenta*: statues overcrowding the porticoes, shields and signs fixed on columns.[20] Livius alludes to a common practice of the aediles, which consisted in dedicating fines to the gods in form of metallic *ornamenta* (shields, vases, statues).[21] If necessary, these *ornamenta* for the gods could, however, become a significant help for the people, as the Neapolitans reminded the Romans in 217 BCE.[22] In some situations of crisis, temples were spoiled of their precious *ornamenta*, as in 82 BCE, when valuable objects were melted to pay the troops.[23] Interestingly enough, offerings that aimed at the intensification of the *ornamentum* of a temple could take the form of statues; in Livius, *signa*, even if not specified by a genitive, leads to the idea of representations of gods. An imperial inscription demonstrates that the transformation of metallic offerings into a statue given to the gods was not unusual, even if, in this specific case, the statue was probably an image of the emperor, as is pointed out by the use of the term *statua*.[24]

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[18] *CIL* IX 3513 = *ILLRP* II 508 (58 BCE), l. 8–14: *Sei quod ad eam aedem donum datum donatum dedicatu(m)que erit, utei liceat oeti, uenum dare; ubei uenum datum erit, id profanum esto. Venditio,/locatio aedilis esto quemquomque ueicus Furfens(is) fecerint, quod se sentiunt eam rem/sine scelere, sine piaculo; alis ne potesto. Quae pequnia recepta erit, ea pequnia emere,/conducere, locare, dare, quod id templum melius, honestius seit, liceto; quae pequnia ad eas/res data erit, profana esto quod d(olo) m(alo) non erit factum. Quod emptum erit aere aut argento/ea pequnia, quae pequnia ad id templum data erit, quod emptum erit, eis rebus eadem/lex esto, quasei sei dedicatum sit*. See Laffi 1978, 142.

[19] Significantly, in the Greek version of the *Res Gestae Diui Augusti* 24.1 the *ornamenta* returned to the sanctuaries of the province of Asia are indicated by the term *anathemata*.

[20] Liv. 40.50.5: *Lepidus (...) aedem Iouis in Capitolio, columnasque circa poliendas albo locauit; et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita uidebantur, signa amouit, clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis generis dempsit*. For movement because of works, see also Cic. *Ver*. 2.1.132 (*signa* and *dona* moved for works in the sanctuary of the Castores) or *CIL* X 1781 (Puteoli), l. 41–46: *Eidem sacella aras signaque, quae in/campo sunt, quae demonstrata erunt./ Ea omnia tollito deferto componito/ statuitoque, ubei locus demonstratus/erit, duumuirum arbitratu.*

[21] See Liv. 10.23.11; 10.23.13; 10.31.9; 10.33.9; 24.16.19; 27.6.19; 30.39.8; 31.50.2; 33.25.3; 33.42.10; 35.10.12; 35.41.10; 38.35.5; 38.35.6. See Marengo 1999 and Estienne 2000, 200–205.

[22] Liv. 22.32.4–5. On similar cases in Greece, see Ampolo 1989–1990, 271–272.

[23] For example Val. Max. 7.6.4: *Senatus consulto aurea atque argentea templorum ornamenta, ne stipendia deessent, conflata sunt. Cf.* Cassius Dio 48.12.4. See Bodei-Giglioni 1977, 33–38.

On the contrary, images of the gods dedicated together with the temple are fixed and inalienable. The passage of Plinius about the temple of Jupiter Stator and its female decoration already quoted above[25] has a less historical than exemplary value in the sense that it is constructed around religious data. It stresses the perpetuation of a temple's decoration once dedicated.[26] Another famous anecdote emphasises the effects of a temple's dedication on statues intended to decorate a temple only temporarily: "When Lucullus built the temple of Felicitas and a portico, he asked Mummius for the use of the statues which he had, saying that he would adorn the temple with them until the dedication and then give them back. However, he did not give them back, but dedicated them to the goddess, and then bade Mummius to take them away if he wished. But Mummius took it lightly, for he cared nothing about them, so that he gained more repute than the man who dedicated them".[27] Cassius Dio adds that Lucullus explained his denial to give the statues back by their dedication to the goddess: "In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other's name".[28] According to Plinius, the bronze Muses by Praxiteles stood in front of the temple, and inside a bronze statue of Venus, also made by Praxiteles.[29] Cicero more precisely states that Mummius left the Eros by the same sculptor in Thespiai, because it was considered sacred, while the statues he removed were supposed to be profane.[30] D. Knoepfler, who suggested that Mummius took the Eros in 146 BCE as well, not in order to bring him to Rome, but to give him to the Athenians, questioned this assertion.[31] The statue of Eros travelled in any case between Thespiai and Rome during the first century CE,[32] since in the time of Plinius, it was put on public view in Rome, in the portico of Octavia before it disappeared in a fire later.[33] We should not exaggerate the opposition made by Cicero between the pious attitude of Mummius, who would have respected the dedicated statues, and the scandalous impiety of Verres, who would have removed venerable statues from their temples in Sicily. In fact, Cicero's passage reveals the ambiguous status of *ornamenta*. As the Sicilian's lawyer, he tries to expose the behaviour of Verres as being impious as possible, although his actions were not illegal. The exact status of plundered statues seems also problematic. For example we know that, in cases of conflict, the *pontifices* had to decide whether the statues were sacred or profane.[34]

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[24] *CIL* XIV, 2088 (Lanuvium, 135–136 CE): *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Traiani / Part(hici) f(ilius) divi Nervae n(epos) / Traianus Hadrainus Aug(ustus) / pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XX co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae) / I(unoni) S(ospiti) M(agnae) R(eginae) statuam ex donis aureis / et arg(entaris) vetustate corruptis / fieri et consecrari iussit / ex auri p(ondo) III et arg(enti) p(ondo) CCVI.*

[25] See here n. 15.

[26] On the installation of the cult statue as a symbol of the ceremony of dedication, see Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.64.

[27] Strabo 8.6.23: Λεύκολλος δὲ κατασκευάσας τὸ τῆς Εὐτυχίας ἱερὸν καὶ στοάν τινα χρῆσιν ᾐτήσατο ὧν εἶχεν ἀνδριάντων ὁ Μόμμιος, ὡς κοσμήσων τὸ ἱερὸν μέχρι ἀναδείξεως, εἶτ᾽ ἀποδώσων, οὐκ ἀπέδωκε δέ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέθηκε κελεύσας αἴρειν, εἰ βούλεται· πράως δ᾽ ἤνεγκεν ἐκεῖνος οὐ φροντίσας οὐδέν, ὥστ᾽ ηὐδοκίμει τοῦ ἀναθέντος μᾶλλον (Translation H.L. Jones). On the temple, Pietilä-Castren 1987, 126. On the attitude of L. Mummius towards the Greek works of art and the use of booty, see Pietilä-Castren 1978 and Aberson 1994, 71–75.

Augustus also emphasised the status of his own images compared to those of the gods with several spectacular measures: some eighty silver statues, which had been dedicated to him in Rome were removed, melted down, and then offered under the shape of tripods to Apollo on the Palatine.[35] Suetonius presents this episode as an example of the moderation of the emperor, as he does with Augustus' refusal to be honoured by temples. In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus evokes this measure after the restoration of the *ornamenta* in the sanctuaries of Asia, and presents it as a gesture of devotion: he returned to the gods what belonged to them.[36] He also dedicated statues of gods in the district chapels of Rome, using the money of the New Year's gifts he received.[37] In this way, he pursued the Republican tradition according to which the magistrates dedicated to the gods the money in surplus, just like the aediles transformed the money from the fines into shields or statues, as we have already seen.

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[28] Cassius Dio 22.76.2 (Translation E. Cary).

[29] Plin. *Nat.hist.* 34.69; 36.39.

[30] Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.4: *Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quae ad aedem Felicitatis sunt ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.*

[31] See Knoepfler 1997, 17–28.

[32] Paus. 9.27.2–3.

[33] Plin. *Nat.hist.* 36.22.

[34] *Cf.* Liv. 26.34; 38.44. See van Haeperen 2002, 244 and 253–254. The *pontifices*' expertise seems only to concern issues of godlessness and possible expiations; the political decision for the new position of plundered statues lay probably by the senate.

[35] Suet. *Aug.* 52: *atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflauit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicauit*; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 24.1: *Statuae [mea]e pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe octoginta circiter, quas ipse sustuli exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et illorum qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt, posui. Cf.* also Cassius Dio 53.22.3. The nature of

With these spectacular gestures, Augustus both very concretely stressed the borderline between his own statues, images resulting from *ornamenta aedium*, and those of the gods, the *simulacra deorum*, and tried to contain the forms of worship according to the traditional practices. But a purely juridical approach does not elucidate the value of these two types of images or the way they were perceived. Problems that arose due to the increase of dedicated imperial images in the Roman sanctuaries reveal the ambiguity of this category of images.

Visible hierarchies?

The politics concerning the dedication of imperial images in temples have already been the object of detailed studies.[38] I don't wish to question the conclusions drawn by other scholars, but I would like to emphasise a particular aspect: the perception of the spatial hierarchies inside sanctuaries. How did the implicit hierarchy between gods and emperors become visible in an already strongly codified system of representation?

In his *Panegyric*, Plinius the Younger enumerates in a clear way the criteria which define the good use of imperial images inside a sanctuary:

> But you enter the sanctuaries only to offer your own prayers—for you the highest honour is to have your statues placed outside the temples, on guard before the doors. This is why the gods have set you on the pinnacle of human power: they know that you do not covet their own. Of your statues, only one or two are be seen in the vestibule of the temple of Jupiter Best

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these statue dedications is not clear; some scholars think that they were simply honorary (Pekàry 1985), others that they did have a religious value (Fishwick 1987, 83).

[36] For restoration of statues by Augustus, see Strab. 13.1.30; 14.1.14; Plin. *Nat.hist.* 34.58 and the edict of Kyme, *cf.* Engelmann 1976, 46 no. 17.

[37] Suet. *Aug.* 57.2.

[38] Price 1984, 170–188; Pekàry 1985, 42–65; Fishwick 1991, 532–550.

> and Highest, and these are made of bronze, whereas only recently every approach and step, every inch of the precinct was gleaming with silver and gold, or rather, was casting pollution, since figures of the gods were defiled by having statues of an incestuous emperor in their midst.[39]

There are three criteria, which allow us to make a differentiation between the statues of the emperors and those of the gods, that is to say the spatial (vicinity / distance with regard to the cella), the quantitative (number of images in the sanctuary), and the qualitative (usage of precious metals) criterion.

Historians of imperial worship and archaeologists demonstrated that imperial images generally occupy subordinate spaces in the sanctuaries of the Roman world.[40] For instance, the construction of the Pantheon by Agrippa reveals the limits of the imperial worship established by Augustus in Rome and clearly defines spatial hierarchies within the sanctuary: "Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself".[41] The first phase of the building has been variously interpreted:[42] although the Pantheon seems to have been conceived as a temple first for the worship of the living emperor and finally for "traditional gods" (even if we ignore exactly for whom), the definitive positioning of the various statues inside the temple reveals in fact the way Romans perceived the internal hierarchy of religious spaces. The *cella* remains reserved to the gods,[43] but it includes also the image of the deified Caesar. By setting up statues of Augustus and himself in the *pronaos*, at the top of staircases, Agrippa showed clearly their lower status compared to the gods and at the same time their superiority to men. In traditional sanctuaries, imperial images can be placed at various locations, depending on regional situations and different times, but all of them express the subordination of emperors to gods.[44] Moreover, they are of different size[45] and material[46] as well. For example, the successful distribution of imperial busts in temples seems to answer imperatives both ideological (to honour the emperor) and practical (the images are easy to move). D. Fishwick tried to show how these *imagines* could be used for religious purposes, such as in processions.[47] In fact, the distinction between the images of gods and those of emperors in temples was not simply one between "cult images" and strictly honorific or "ornamental" images. As much as the emperors could be associated with the worship of the gods by means of dedications and prayers, their images, too, could play a role in certain rites, even if we have only a few testimonies.

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[39] Plin. *Pan.* 52.1–3: *Tu delubra non nisi adoraturus intras, tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis postibusque praetexi. Sic fit, ut di ⟨tibi⟩ summum inter homines fastigium seruent, cum deorum ipse non adpetas. Itaque tuam statuam in uestibulo Iouis optimi maximi unam alteramue et hanc aeream cernimus. At paulo ante aditus omnes omnes gradus totaque area hinc auro hinc argento relucebat, seu potius polluebatur, cum incesti principis statuis permixta deorum simulacra sorderent* (Translation B. Radice).

[40] See Price 1984, 146–156; Fishwick 1991, 546–547; Scheid 1995, 424–426; van Andringa 2000. See also Dirk Steuernagel's article in the present volume.

[41] Cassius Dio 53.27.3: Ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε (Translation E. Cary).

[42] See Ziolkowski 1999; *contra* La Rocca 1999.

[43] *Cf.* Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.3: *Videor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae has ad hominum*. See also Scheid 1996 for comments.

As Fishwick emphasizes it, placing a statue or a bust of an emperor in a temple "must have been to honour the emperor or his family in a way that custom had made conventional … Quite clearly the usage is in line with that of placing in a temple multiple representations of either the deity to whom the temple belonged or of some other deity, as commonly throughout the Graeco-Roman world".[48] It was not a matter of distinguishing the emperors from the gods in an absolute way, but of inserting the imperial images inside the traditional hierarchies and spatial structures of temples. As stressed by Servius, the focus is always on the divinity to which the temple belongs.[49] What do we know about the principles behind the choices for placing the other statues? I shall use only two examples to demonstrate the difficulties raised by our documentation.

An inscription from Palestrina lists the various statues dedicated in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia by Lucius Sariolenus Naevius Fastus

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[44] Price 1984, 155–156.

[45] See for example *CIL* XIII 1769: three altars found in Lugdunum record the dedication an *aedes*, two *signa* (of the gods of course), and an *imago* of the emperor Tiberius to Mercurius and Maia, *cf.* Fishwick 1987, 541.

[46] On the use of precious metal, see Lahusen 1999.

[47] Fishwick 1991, 538 and 550–566. *Cf.* also Price 1984, 188–190.

[48] Fishwick 1991, 549–550.

[49] See here n. 3.

Consularis and identifies their respective places. In the *Iunonarium* stood an image of Diana, in the ante-room of the temple a statue of the emperor Antoninus and three images of gods (Apollo, Isityche, and Spes), while the last statue, a Minerva, was clearly dedicated together with an altar to the Fortuna Primigenia.[50] I shall argue that the placement of the dedicated statues within the sanctuary was not done at random, but was guided by several concerns: a) the respect towards the hierarchy between gods and human beings by means of placing the statue of the emperor in a subordinate space, *i.e.* in the *pronaos aedis*; b) the accentuation of the hierarchy between the goddess and other deities, *i.e.* the *Iunonarium* dedicated to Iuno, who would be associated with Iupiter, seems to have been a part of the sanctuary secondary in meaning to the part dedicated to Fortuna;[51] c) providing shelter to occasionals 'guests' of the goddess, *i.e.* statues of further divinities and emperors stood in the ante-room. Although important vestiges of the sanctuary at Praeneste are preserved, the exact interpretation is still the object of intensive scholarly debates; therefore, the precise location of the statues dedicated by Sariolenus cannot be easily identified.[52] The dedication of the statues had of course a religious motivation, and we can think that the chosen places were significant, even if the logic behind the individual choices largely escapes us.[53] Finally, it is noteworthy that the last statue offered by Sariolenus, namely that of Minerva, had a religious value, because it was related to an altar.

The *sacellum* of the *Augustales* discovered in 1968 at Miseno presents an exceptional case, thanks to the statuary and architectural elements unearthed. Numerous bases and some statues were found more or less *in situ* and give us a rather precise idea of the statuary's arrangement in this small sanctuary dedicated to Divus Augustus, whose worship was entrusted to the *Augustales*.[54] The *sacellum* consisted of three rooms opening to a court with porticoes; the central room, recognisable as the *cella*, was heightened and provided with a tetrastyle *pronaos* in the Antonine period. Two marble statues depicting the Divus Vespasianus and the Divus Titus were found inside the *cella*. Outside, in the porticoes, several bases of statues were discovered: four of them were destined for divinities (Apollo, Asclepius, Venus, and Liber Pater),[55] two for the *Augustales*, and one for an equestrian statue of Trajan. An equestrian statue of Nerva was found in the remains of one of the neighbouring rooms. The original statue was in fact a bronze statue of Domitian transformed into a Nerva portrait after the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor. The statue was probably placed in front of the *cella*, at the top of the stairs on the left.[56] A female headless statue, perhaps of an empress (of honorific character?), was also found in one of the adjacent rooms.[57] In a temple of the imperial worship, the hierarchies expressed by means of the statuary's arrangement was, thus, different from those observed in a traditional sanctuary: in the centre were the deified emperors, whereas the alive emperors were represented outside the *cella*. Nevertheless, their importance was underlined by the choice of the equestrian statue and by the placement of their images on a podium. While the statues of the deified emperors Vespasian and Titus remained in the *cella* until the end of second century CE, the statues of Trajan and Nerva seemed to have been removed, thus revealing their status difference, as *ornamenta* versus *simulacra*. The traditional gods were relegated to the outside porticoes, beside the honorific statues of the *Augustales*: here, *they* were the guests.

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[50] *CIL* XIV 2867: *L(ucius) Sariolenus / Naeuius Fastus / Consularis / ut Triuiam in Iunonario / ut in pronao aedis / statuam Antonini August(i)/ Apollinis, Isityches, Spei / ita et hanc Mineruam / Fortunae Primigeniae / dono dedit / cum ara.*

[51] On the interconnections between Fortuna, Jupiter and Juno, see Champeaux 1982, 93–100.

[52] See Fasolo-Gullini 1953, 49 who suggested that the *pronaos aedis* can be found in the lower part of the sanctuary and the *Iunonarium* under the church of S. Agapito. *Contra*: Coarelli 1978, 211–217; Coarelli 1987, 35–84; for a history of the various interpretations of the structure in the "lower sanctuary", see Riemann 1986.

[53] We can assume that the connection between Diana and Juno could be explained by their common skills towards the women on the point of delivering a child, see Champeaux 1982, 95. Apollo, Isityche, and Spes could be associated with the oracular function of the cult of Fortuna; we know of two others statues of Spes dedicated in the temple: *CIL* XIV 2853.

The study of the statuary's placement inside Roman temples reveals both the complexity of the spatial organization and the ambiguous character of the *ornamenta*. Statues set up among the *ornamenta* of a temple had, from a religious point of view, the same status as an offering, while from a legal point of view, they could again become alienable and therefore profane. From a practical point of view, they could be removed, transformed—

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[54] See De Franciscis 1991 and Miniero 2000.

[55] Miniero 2000, 51 interprets them as divinities protecting the ships of the praetorian fleet stationed in this port.

[56] See Varner 2004, 121–122.

[57] The material is now on display in the new Museo archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, in the castel of Baia.

especially statues made of metal—or put away in areas of storage.[58] Nevertheless, as property given to the gods, *ornamenta* participated also in the sacrality of the shrine, which sheltered them. They did not simply function in an ornamental way, but defined the position of each and every god in a sanctuary, thus expressing the divine hierarchies inherent to polytheism. They displayed the power and the piety of their dedicators. They honoured as much the god, who was the true addressee, as the one who was linked to the divine tutelage.

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[58] See for example Cic. *Dom*. 121: an altar or a statue, which is not dedicated at the same time as the sacred space of a temple can be removed. For stored statues, see Gel. 2.10.3–4: *Id esse cellas quasdam et cisternas quae in area sub terra essent, ubi reponi solerent signa uetera quae ex eo templo collapsa essent, et alia quaedam religiosa e donis consecratis*, ("these were certain underground chambers and cistern in the area in which it was custom to store ancient statues that had fallen from the temple and some other consecrated objects from among the votive offerings"; Translation J.C. Rolfe).

THE DEDICATION OF CULT STATUES AT THE ALTAR. A ROMAN PICTORIAL FORMULA FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW CULTS

Katja Moede

Among the main themes of Roman ritual depictions is the sacrificing *togatus capite velato*. This figure enjoyed long-running success over centuries and is suitable as a single depiction, as well as in combination with processions or other scenes of the ritual activities in question.[1] Alongside monuments with traditional altar scenes, depictions in which an altar is at the centre of activities, but without libations or animal sacrifices being carried out there, are also notable in the archaeological record. Such scenes depict statuettes as they are handed over across the altar by or to a *togatus capite velato*. A systematic study of these monuments will clarify the concrete reasons for the choice of this pictorial formula, the period of time in which it was used, and if this formula had a success similar to the well-known "traditional" sacrificial scenes at an altar.

First, I will concentrate on an altar now kept in the Vatican, but probably found on the Palatine hill, which shows such a scene (*fig. 76–79*).[2] All four sides are decorated with high-quality reliefs. The left narrow side (*fig. 76*) shows one of the mentioned presentation scenes: a *togatus* stands to the right side of an altar on which a sacrificial flame is lit. His head is not preserved, but nevertheless the remaining relief in the background leaves no doubt that his head was concealed. He is accompanied by two wreathed *togati* who are noticeably smaller. Opposite them is a group of three persons who are receiving small statuettes of the *lares* from the *togatus*. On the basis of their dress, they must be interpreted as *ministri*, similar to those depicted on the so-called *vicomagistri-ara*, the fragment of a frieze from the so-called *ara pietatis* and a further relief fragment in the Vatican.[3] They are being presented with the statuettes, probably by the emperor Augustus himself.[4] Even though the proportions may appear a little unusual, one will have to imagine that the second statuette will be passed across the altar from the *togatus* to the attendant. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the *togatus*: only the emperor—in this case Augustus, as is suggested by the depictions on the other sides of the altar—is authorised to perform such a handover.

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[1] Schraudolph 1993, 84; see recently Moede 2007, 164–175.

[2] Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. no. 1115: *CIL* VI 876; Ross Tylor 1925, 299–302; Ryberg 1955, 56–59 pl. 15 fig. 28b; Helbig 1963, 198–201 no. 255; Zanker 1969, 205–207 pl. 67.1; Zanker 1970–1971, 153–157; Harrison 1971, 71–75; Fraschetti 1980, 957–961; Simon 1986, 137 fig. 109; Hölscher 1988, no. 223; Cappelli 1984–1985, 91–93 pl. 1.1–2; Goette 1990, 114 Ba 7; Cappelli 1990, 29–31; Fless 1995 no. 9.

The front (*fig. 79*) is unmistakably and exclusively concerned with the subject of Augustus' honours. A floating Victory fixes the golden *clupeus virtutis* to a column. Two laurel trees frame the depiction. The imperial title on the *clupeus* on the front dates the altar to between 12 and 2 BCE.[5] While it refers to the dedication of the altar, the context leaves no doubt that this is the *clupeus virtutis*.

The two other reliefs on the altar develop scenes from Rome's mythological prehistory. On the narrow side opposite the presentation scene (*fig. 77*), Aeneas finds the sow of Lavinium. He has reached Latium and can here become the ancestor of the Roman Empire. On this depiction, his head is already concealed, which proleptically pre-references the sacrificial offering of the pig, as it is for example carried out on one of the mythological reliefs of the *ara pacis*.[6] A female figure with a scroll is seated opposite him. This suggests an interpretation as the prophetess Sybilla. She predicts the special importance of Aeneas as the founder of Rome and a glorious history.

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[3] On the problem of identification, variants of dress, and their social origins, see Fless 1995, 18. 35 with n. 216. esp. 52–54. *Ara* of the *vicomagistri*: Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. no. 1156–1157: Ryberg 1955, 76–77 pl. 23–24 fig. 37a–d; Hanell 1960, 51–53; Helbig 1963, 203–206 no. 258; Alföldi 1973, 28–29 pl. 6; Kunckel 1974, 26. 56 pl. 18; Jucker 1976, 248–251; Bonanno 1976, 47–49; Felletti Maj 1977, 283–286 pl. 53–54 fig. 103a–c; Jucker 1978, 94 n. 10; von Hesberg 1979, 918; Anderson 1984, 33–34 fig. 1–10; Picard 1984, 67; Pekáry 1985, 121–122; Simon 1986, 98–99. 243 fig. 126; Amedick 1987, 20–25; Zanker 1990, 137–138 fig. 110; Bonanno 1988, 157–161 fig. 1; Hölscher 1988, 396–297 no. 224; Liverani 1988, 5–7 fig. 1–11; Boschung 1989, 63–65. 124 no. 94; Goette 1990, 117 B a 77; Simon 1990, 123. 299 fig. 151; Fishwick 1991, 554 n. 483; Fless 1995 no. 18 pl. 13.2, 14.2, 17.1, 38.1, 42.1. Frieze from the so-called *ara pietatis*: Rome, Villa Medici: Petersen 1894, 171–173; Petersen 1902, 58. 98. 111. 130; Stuart Jones 1906, 240–243; Brendel 1930, 204 no. 2; Bloch 1951, 9–13; Cagiano de Azevedo 1951, 37 no. 3.40, 11.50, 23.55, 41.56, 47.65, 48 pl. 1–12; Ryberg 1955, 66–67 pl. 20 fig. 35d. pl. 21 fig. 36a–d; Hommel 1954, 22–23; Cozza 1958, 107–109 fig. 1, 2; Alföldi 1973, 28 pl. 8; Bonanno 1976, 35–36. pl. 81–88; Laubscher 1976, 71–74 pl. 1 and 2; Koeppel 1982b; Torelli 1982, 63–69 fig. III.20–23; Koeppel 1983, 73–74. 98–101 no. 12–23 fig. 13–26; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 121–129; Turca 1988, 24 no. 35 pl. 17; Goette 1990, 121 B a 164; Simon 1990, 174–176. 301–304 fig. 185; Reuter 1991, 37–39; Fless 1995, no. 22.I pl. 16.2. 36.2. Further relief fragment, Rome, Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Profano inv. no. 9485: Ryberg 1955, 80 pl. 20 fig. 35e with older bibliography; Helbig 1963, 734–735 no. 1021; Alfödi 1973, 28 pl. 7; Felletti Maj 1977, 289 pl. 55. 131; Goette 1990, 117 B a 78; Fishwick 1991, 554 n. 483; Fless 1995, no. 19 pl. 17.2.

[4] The identification of the figure with Augustus is supported by the themes depicted on the other three sides. No doubts concerning this aspect of the monument are expressed in the relevant scholarly research (see here n. 2).

[5] *CIL* VI 876: *SENATVS POPVLVSQ/ROMANVS/IMP CAESARI DIVI F AUGUSTO/PONTIF MAXVM/IMP COS TRIB/POTESTAT*.

The interpretation of the back panel (*fig. 78*), on the other hand, is more difficult. A divine hero in a harness ascends to heaven in a quadriga pulled by winged horses. Heaven is unmistakably characterised by Sol on the left and Jupiter or Caelus on the right. A barely recognisable eagle between the two figures leaves no doubt that this scene indeed depicts an *apotheosis*.[7] Behind the quadriga stands a *togatus* as an official witness of the ascent to heaven. In front of the quadriga, a woman with her two children salutes the ascending hero. This scene has been the subject of very varied archaeological interpretations. Suggestions as to the identity of the main character comprise Augustus, Agrippa, Caesar, Romulus, and Aeneas.[8] For very good reasons, T. Hölscher prefers an interpretation of the figure as Romulus.[9] A palm tree on the left side of the scene, directly adjacent to the witness of the ascent, has to be understood as an unmistakable indication to Romulus. Artificially framed, it marked the place of his ascent at the *comitium*. As a logical consequence, the other figures are his wife Hersilia and the witness Iulius Proculus.

Even if the integration of the presentation scene into a web of mythological-historical themes may at first seem surprising, further reflection allows the conception of the altar to become understandable in terms of content. As has been repeatedly suggested, it is very likely that the handing over does not refer to a cult place in one of the 265 *vici*, but instead to the central sanctuary on the Velia.[10] In this old sanctuary, Augustus had the temple reconstructed anew.[11] It is not a coincidence that on this altar, the finding of the Lavinian sow by Aeneas is opposite the presentation scene. Aeneas sacrificed the pig to the *penates*, whom he had taken with him on his flight from the burning city of Troy. Just as Aeneas once upon a time worshipped the *penates* and could thus lay the foundations for Roman religion, so Augustus went to some lengths regarding the worship of the gods. Handing over the statuettes of the *lares* to the newly established sanctuary on the Velia can hence become a symbol of the emperor's religious ambitions. He did not only build the temple to the *lares*: in the account of his deeds, he boasts of numerous renovations, re-activations and new foundations of cults, sanctuaries and corresponding rituals.[12] The restructuring of the city and the cults in the city's quarters probably resulted in changes most noticeable for everyone. It was not only in the city centre that temples were given a shiny marble facade.[13] Thus, it is not surprising that the handing over of statuettes of the *lares* can symbolically stand for Augustus' efforts regarding the state's gods.

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[6] Moede 2000, 279–281 with older bibliography on this monument and the Aeneas relief.

[7] Koep – Herrmann 1957, 284; Bergmann 1998, 5 and 99; Clauss 1999, 357–359.

[8] see here n. 2.

[9] Hölscher 1988, 396 no. 223.

[10] Fless 1995, 53.

[11] Platner-Ashby 1929, 314–320; Lugli 1948, 401; Hölscher 1988, 394–396 no. 223. 224; Dubourdieu 1989, 388–392; Simon 1990, 12–16; Fless 1995, 53.

Several archaeological monuments suggest that the state cult of the *lares* and the *genius* can indeed be considered very important.[14] In a study on Roman dedications to divinities, E. Schraudolph has already established that "the sacrificial scene [of the Lares' altars], in its shortened form, reduced to the width of an altar, [had become] a popular motif in the early imperial period".[15] However, it is not only the sacrificial scenes of the *lares*' altars, which hold such a position as models, for the presentation scene discussed above is also found on another altar from the city of Rome (*fig. 80 and 81*).[16] In both instances, a statuette with which the regular maintenance of the cult is connected is handed to *ministri* by a *togatus capite velato*. On the opposite side, the presented statuette has already become a cultic image. A *togatus* is carrying out the preliminary offering at a round altar in front of which stands the image of the god. A cow, to be sacrificed to the divinity in the next step, is being led towards the altar from the left. The flute player had to give up his usual position behind the altar to the cult image. He now stands to the right of the altar, partially covered by the sacrificing *togatus*.

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[12] *Res Ges. div. Aug.* 20: during his sixth consulate (28 BCE), Augustus restored 82 temples in the city under the senate's instructions.

[13] Grenade 1961, 89–91; Coarelli 1988, 68–74; Gros-Sauron 1988, 48–56.

[14] Hölscher 1985, 101–108.

[15] Schraudolph 1993, 84.

[16] Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. no. 1909: *CIL* VI 4^4 30982; Gummerus 1913, 63–66; Körte 1917, 31; Ryberg 1955, 88–89 fig. 40a+b; Mandowsky – Mitchell 1963, 73 no. 37 pl. 24; Helbig 1966, 91–92 no. 1238; Dick 1973, 150–151; Felletti Maj 1977, 324; Zimmer 1982, no. 84; Schürmann 1985, 68–69; Zanker 1990, 139–140 fig. 111; Schraudolph 1993, 233 no. L 121 pl. 37; Fless 1995, 14; Siebert 1999, 299 no. I18.

This altar was dedicated to Minerva by the *fabri tignarii*. On the basis of numerous finds, the *fabri*'s *schola* can be located near S. Omobono.[17] The altar was probably erected there and relates the establishment of the cult by means of the handing over of the statuette. It is not so easy to identify the *togatus* in this scene. The preserved remains of the figure do not allow a portrait analysis. For this reason, Schraudolph cautiously classifies him as a rich benefactor of the *collegium* or as its *patronus*.[18] Previously, P. Zanker had expressed the idea that the person depicted is Augustus, as inscriptions attribute a number of statue dedications for ritual clubs to him.[19] W. Schürmann even thought that the presentation scene had to refer to the temple to Minerva on the Aventine hill, renovated by Augustus in 16 BCE.[20] The depiction provides, however, no clues to this effect and includes no topographical information. The combined depiction of priestly *insignia* and craftsmen's tools on the lateral sides rather suggests a close relationship to the *collegium*. P. Panciera succeeded in indisputably proving that the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* was founded anew in 7 BCE.[21] Hence the altar, which is doubtlessly early Augustan, probably commemorates the immediate past of the *collegium*. The handing over of the cult image manifests the new foundation and at the same time makes clear that from now on, the community must regularly take care of the performance of the rites. The other side of the altar shows the forms of ritual worship. The statue that had been handed over is here at the centre of the scene; it has become the symbolic recipient of offerings and the ritual focus of the *fabri*. In this sense, the sacrificial scene is closely related to the depictions on the *lares*' altars.

Again, this depiction makes clear how influential the pictures of the *magistri* of the cult of the *lares* became in setting the example for other religious communities. The handing over of a cult image here becomes the constituting key event and is staged as such. This lays the foundations for a regular practice of the cult, on which depends the entire organisational structure of the ritual community. This allows *magistri* and *ministri* to clearly demonstrate their role anew in the regularly practiced rituals.

If a closer analysis is directed to presentation scenes such as those on the altar in the Vatican discussed above, a small relief from Palermo

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[17] Schürmann 1985, 56–69. Generally on *collegia*, their organisational structure, and sacral duties, see Bollmann 1997, 209–215 and Bollmann 1998, 36–42.

[18] Schraudolph 1993, 40 and 54 n. 49.

[19] Zanker 1990, 139–142.

[20] Schürmann 1985, 68.

[21] Panciera 1981, 281–289.

(*fig. 82*) should also attract our interest.[22] It was found near Marina di Caronia, heavily restored, and is now kept in the Museo Regionale in Palermo.[23] On the left outer edge, an enthroned woman dominates the relief. She wears a richly folded robe, a cloak covering her head, and sandals. Her left arm is placed on the armrest of the throne. The remains of her right hand on the robe of the sitting figure suggest that her right arm originally lay in her lap. In the present state of preservation, four standing women, worked in slightly flatter relief, accompany the enthroned figure. Because of their dress, they can be unambiguously identified as vestals. In front of the lower body of the front vestal are two column bases bearing animal statues and an altar. All figures, including the animals, are facing to the right, where a *togatus* with a largely destroyed upper body is standing. His right arm is outstretched and almost touches the second vestal. The background still shows clear traces of architecture. In front of the first vestal, a column with Ionic capital has been preserved, on which a garland is hung. The column and its capital are rendered in a different scale to the architecture in the right half of the image. Here again, columns with Ionic capitals are shown, between which the remains of a stone wall are visible. The perspective displacement suggests an identification of the building as a round temple. On the basis of the background architecture and the depicted vestals, the seated figure can only be Vesta herself.

It is clear that this scene does not depict a sacrifice. The outstretched right hand of the *togatus* is not connected to the altar, as his arm reaches far beyond it. Unfortunately, in the present condition of the piece, the hand and the object it is holding are hard to make out. However, the tall, cylindrical outline of an object, preserved in front of the first vestal's body, definitely excludes that the *togatus* holds a *patera* in his right hand. Rather, here too, we will have to consider an object, which is being handed over in the framework of a ritual act. The second vestal is clearly involved in this activity. Her right arm, unfortunately now lost, certainly extended as far as the object held by the *togatus*.

In its composition, the relief is comparable to other early imperial depictions, which also show scenes from the Vesta cult. Vestals near their enthroned goddess also appear on the base from Sorrento (*fig. 83–86*).[24] The Sorrento base is a richly ornamented column base consisting of three blocks pushed together. The central block and half of one of the outer blocks are missing. The themes of the reliefs clearly refer to Augustus and his religious policy about the cults on the Palatine hill. Only half of the left lateral side of the base is preserved (*fig. 85*), but the scene can be understood without major problems. It shows the door of a house, set slightly ajar, above which a small Eros is holding a wreath. This is the *corona civica*, fixed above the entrance to Augustus' house in 27 BCE as an honour. In other words, the frontage of the imperial house on the Palatine hill is actually shown. In front of the door sits a badly preserved male figure with a cornucopia. This is probably Romulus, the mythic ancestor and the political model for Augustus.[25] On the other sides, the appearance of further divine ancestors of Rome completes the picture. One of the base's narrow sides depicts the Apollinian triad (*fig. 86*), worshipped in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, which had been consecrated by Augustus in 28 BCE. Apollo, holding his lyre, stands in the centre in front of a tripod, to his left is his sister Diana with a torch, to his right is their mother Leto. That the depicted group is the cult image of the temple of Apollo is suggested by Propertius (2.31.1–2): *deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem pythius in longa carmina veste sonat*.[26] This temple, like Romulus' hut, stood immediately adjacent to the house of Augustus; both were directly connected by a ramp.[27] Augustus deposited the Sybillian books in this temple, which is why the Sybilla of Cumae, the seated figure in the right corner of the image, is also present.[28]

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[22] Palermo, Museo Regionale, inv. no. 1539: Samter 1894, 127–135; Ryberg 1955, 51–54 fig. 27; Guarducci 1971, 89–93 pl. 65; Hölscher 1984, 31 fig. 54; Turcan 1988, 23 no. 31 pl. XVI; Goette 1990, 121 no. 165 pl. 9; Mekacher 2006, 156–159 no. R5.

[23] The relief was restored from three small and one large fragment. The parts and the gaps between them are completed in plaster. The original edge of the relief is only preserved at the bottom and on the right. The faces, hands and folds of the depicted persons are heavily damaged.

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[24] Base of Sorrento, Museo Correale: Samter 1894, 127–131; Degrassi 1955, 144–147; Ryberg 1955, 49–50 fig. 26; Guarducci 1964, 158–161; Kolbe 1966–1967, 97–100; Guarducci 1971, 89–91; Hölscher 1984, 30–34 fig. 52–53; Hölscher 1988, 375–377 no. 208; Cappelli 1990, 29–34 fig. 1; Meckacher 2006, 156–159 no. R3. At this point, let me point to a relief fragment in the Villa Albani: Samter 1894, 127–131; Degrassi 1966–1967, 103; Guarducci 1971, 90–93; Koeppel 1983, 78. 118–119 no. 25; Meckacher 2006, 156–157 no. R 4. It, too, shows an enthroned Vesta in front of temple architecture. Beside her are again vestals facing right. On the basis of these clues—the altar and parts of the columns' bases are also preserved—the scene could be reconstructed using the Palermo relief as a model. Again a *togatus*, possibly Augustus, faces Vesta. The dimensions of the reliefs, too, are identical. According to Thomas Schäfer, a further relief repeating this scene exists in Carthage.

[25] The choice of living in the immediate vicinity of Romulus' hut had already stressed this ideal continuity.

[26] The cult images in the cella of the temple of Apollo are the subject of a lucky accident of preservation. Combining the statues on the Sorrento base and the source in Propertius with Pliny's *Nat.hist.* 35.24–25 and 32, one is not only familiarised with the appearance of fourth century BCE sculptures, but also knows the names of the respective artists, as Pliny recounts that Apollo was the work of a Skopas of Paros, maybe from Rhamnous, while Diana was made by Timotheos and Leto by Kephisodotos.

Only the left third of the second long side is preserved (*fig. 84*). Here, as a counterpart to Vesta, the Magna Mater is enthroned, flanked by two lions. In front of her, a dancing Korybant, part of her entourage, is preserved. Her temple also stood on the Palatine hill in close proximity to Augustus' house and was renewed by the emperor in 3 BCE. If one parallels the topographical situation on the Palatine hill with the depicted divinities, it seems reasonable to add Victory on the missing part of the long side next to the Magna Mater. Allegedly, a temple for Victory was consecrated on the Palatine hill after the legendary victory of Evander over the Latins.[29]

In summary, it can be stated that the Sorrento base depicts core measures in Augustus' religious policy regarding the cults on the Palatine hill, whereby the sacred surroundings of his house are especially emphasised. However, we should now address the question of how the scene on the other long side can be integrated into the overall conception of the depictions. As already mentioned, the viewer is here confronted with a ritual scene in the Vesta sanctuary (*fig. 83*). The long side, two thirds of which are preserved, shows a group of five vestals on the left, who are standing in front of an Ionic portico with curtains hung in the spaces between the columns. At the right edge, Vesta is enthroned, accompanied by two female figures.[30] In the background, partly concealed through the curtains, *i.e.* the *velum*, a round temple is visible. Two pilasters bearing statues of a bull and a ram frame it. Inside the temple, the cult image can be discerned. Generally, a further vestal and the emperor carrying out a sacrifice are reconstructed in the missing centre part. Yet, as is suggested by a comparison with the reliefs discussed here so far, the preserved components again support the reconstruction of a presentation scene.

Nevertheless, the main research problem has always been the decoding of the depiction on the front, which so obviously shows the cult of Vesta. How this scene can be integrated into the evidently closed conception of the depictions on the base has always been the big question. Of course, this was based on the realisation that the religious topography of the Palatine hill was doubtlessly in the foreground and provided the overarching theme of the base. Thus, in order to save the idea of a unified iconographic conception on the base, the search for a Vesta cult on the Palatine hill and the corresponding architectural surroundings began.[31] Such a hypothesis is based on the Augustan stone calendars, which record a feast day on the twenty eighth of April, because of a senate decision to commemorate the building of a cult place for Vesta in Augustus' house on the Palatine hill. Augustus had become *pontifex maximus* on the sixth of March 12 BCE. On this occasion, he declared a part of his house on the Palatine hill a public space, because living on public ground was part of the regulations of holding a priestly office. Since he did not want to move to the *domus publica* next to the temple of Vesta, he established a cult place dedicated to Vesta in his own house.[32] The question is which outward appearance this cult place had. For the 28th of April, the *fasti Caeretani* record: *fer(iae), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) sig(num) / Vest(ae) in domo P(alatina) / dedic(atum)*. The entry in the fasti Praenestini reads: *feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quod eo di[e -] et [-] / Vestae in domu Imp. Caesaris Augu[sti po]ntif(icis) max(imi) / dedicata est Quirinio at Valgio co(n)su(ulibus)*. Th. Mommsen completed the gap behind *eo di[* with *eo di[e aedicul]a et [ara]*.[33] In the nineteenth century, a house chapel was assumed. It was only in the twentieth century that a temple modelled on the one standing in the *forum romanum* was postulated more and more frequently.[34]

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[27] Carettoni 1983, plan 1–2; Carettoni 1988, 263–267 fig. 154–155.

[28] Moede 2004, 57.

[29] The interconnections between the various architectural details and figures on the basis and the topographical situation on the Palatine hill has been repeatedly studied and argued in detail: see here n. 24.

[30] Fischer-Hansen 1990, 415 no. 25.

However, when the Roman calendars were published in the 1950s, A. Degrassi reached a different conclusion. In his opinion, the idea of an *aedicula* could no longer be supported, as a renewed investigation had shown that the preserved part of the last letter must belong to an *m* and not to an *a*. In concordance with the *fasti Caeretani*, he reconstructed the passage as: *eo di[e signu]m et [ara]*.[35] Consequently, a statue and an altar on the Palatine hill were dedicated to Vesta, but a temple was never part of this dedication. M. Guarducci attempted to save the idea of a temple by suggesting *eo di[e signu]m et [aedis]*.[36] However, this solution must be opposed on the basis of the epigraphic evidence, as there is not enough room for five letters after the *et*.[37]

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[31] See Fraschetti 1999, 174–190, who offers a comprehensive engagement and rich bibliography on the problem of the presence of Vesta on the Palatine hill. A more detailed presentation of the scholarly discussion, the literary sources concerning, and the monuments of the cult of Vesta in Mekacher 2006, 154–166.

[32] Guarducci 1964, 167–168; To the problem of the identification of the public parts inside the house, see Coarelli 1983, 71 and Carandini-Carafa 1995, 75–76.

[33] *CIL* I 317.

[34] Degrassi 1966–1967, 98.

[35] Degrassi 1955, 144–148 and Degrassi 1963, 66. See also Sylvia Estienne's article in the present volume for the notion of *signum*.

In sum, there is no doubt that a cult to Vesta was established on the Palatine hill, but the epigraphic evidence does not support the existence of a temple. Nor does the comparable entry in Ovid's *fasti* provides confirmation for a corresponding cult building: *Aufer Vesta diem! Cognati Vesta recepta est / limine. sic iusti constiuere patres. / Phoebus habet partem, Vesta pars altera cessit. / quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet. / State Palatine laurus, praetextaque quercu / stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos*.[38] It is hence not surprising that no architectural structure exists in the area of the imperial house, which could be connected with an Augustan temple of Vesta.[39]

Nevertheless, researchers still cling to the idea of a temple to Vesta on the Palatine hill.[40] Ovid's passage is still used as evidence that Vesta was entitled to a part equal in size and importance to that of Apollo. Consequently, the goddess should have received a temple, since we know that one was built for Apollo. The Sorrento base is generally cited as supporting visual evidence. As all the sides of the base refer to the Palatine hill, according to this hypothesis, the round temple in the relief of Vesta must also show a temple on that hill. There are two possibilities for explaining the pillar bases with animal statues depicted: either these are the *armenta Myronis* seen by Propertius in the portico of the Palatine temple of Apollo, rendered as signs of the zodiac, or they are the *dona ex maniis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iu[l]i et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi*, referred to in the *res gestae*.[41] The unquestioned assumption here is that "aedes Vestae" refers to the temple on the Palatine hill. The goddess shown on the reliefs is consequently interpreted as a cult statue on the Palatine hill, as there was certainly no cult image in the temple on the *forum*. The *palladium* visible inside the building on the Sorrento base is said to be an accurate copy of the *palladium* in the *forum*, which is attested as late as the fourth century CE through a *praepositus Palladii Palatini*.[42]

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[36] Guarducci 1964, 158–163 and Guarducci 1971, 89–93.

[37] Kolbe 1966–1967, 94–98.

[38] Ov. *fast*. 4.949; see also: Ov. *met*. 15.864: *Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata penates / et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta.*

[39] A recent detailed discussion of the problem and a suggestion for the existence of a Vesta temple on the Palatine hill in Cecamore 1994–1995, 9–17.

[40] *CIL* XI 6441; Guarducci 1964, 158–163; Guarducci 1971, 89–94; Cappelli 1990, 28–37.

[41] Prop. 2.31.7–8; *Res Ges. div. Aug*. 173.

Of course, this theory did not remain without criticism. Indeed it is still not possible to prove the existence of a cult building on the Palatine hill. C. Cecamore's latest identification of a Flavian structure with the Vesta temple remains questionable.[43] Not only is its diameter larger than that of the building in the *forum*, the structures are also located inside the precinct of Apollo, which excludes a cult place. In addition, Propertius saw the pillar bases with animal statues in the sanctuary of Apollo, hence the animal statues shown in close connection with Vesta cannot be the *armenta Myronis*.[44] We should rather rely on the *res gestae*, as Augustus dedicated the *dona exmaniis* in the sanctuary in the *forum*, as the designation *aedes Vestae* is attested only for the latter.

The discussion on the existence of a temple of Vesta on the Palatine hill, and with it our comprehension of the scene on the long side of the Sorrento base, seems far from being resolved. If, however, one argues based solely on the few reliable facts, it would seem reasonable to relate the relief to the temple on the *forum*. The main cult place of the city's goddess, at the same time the domestic and official residence of the vestals, lay on the east side of the *forum romanum*. At the centre of the precinct was the *aedes Vestae*, a round temple in which the vestals tended the sacred fire.[45] On the Palatine hill, merely a cult place for Vesta was established in 12 BCE in Augustus' house in which a statue was dedicated.[46] The sources remain, however, silent regarding the consecration of a temple.

A decisive argument for the interpretation and resolution of this question is provided by the depiction on the base itself. As is typical for Roman mother goddesses, Vesta is shown as an enthroned, matronly figure. As such, she possesses no specific iconography. Only the context allows her unmistakable identification. On the one hand, vestals are shown in her immediate vicinity, on the other hand she is characterised by the round temple with the cult image and the two animal statues. In this context, it should be noted that the goddess with her priestesses and Augustus are shown in an interior space, which is unmistakably characterised as such by the draping of the portico with *velae*, a frequently encountered pictorial convention for interior scenes. Given the presence of the emperor and the overall Palatine connotation, it is without question that this is the house of Augustus, shown on the north side. In the scene, the round temple is behind the curtain and hence lay outside the house. Theoretically, this would still allow its identification with a cult building of Vesta in the area of the *casa palatina*; practically, however, this is contradicted by epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

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[42] See here n. 40.

[43] See here n. 39.

[44] Prop. 2.311.7–8 saw four statues. It is not impossible to combine the depicted animal figures with signs of the zodiac.

[45] For the set of problems concerning the sanctuary of Vesta on the Palatine Hill and in the *forum romanum*, see in detail Meckacher 2006, 158–162.

[46] See here n. 32.

To this two further factors should be added: there is no unequivocal topographical characterisation of the round temple within the picture itself, which would have made it difficult even for ancient viewers to differentiate the building depicted here from the temple to Vesta in the *forum romanum* with any certainty. The motif of the round temple had long become the unmistakable pictogram for the latter. It is, however, the cult image on the inside of the round temple shown on the Sorrento base, which is decisive: the *palladium*.[47] Diomedes saved this archaic cult image of Athena from the burning city of Troy and took it to Italy. From then on, it was seen as a pledge of Roman rule and was kept by the vestals. This kind of cult image cannot be moved without need. In a phase in which all old cults and cult images were revitalised and renovated, one can only refer to it in a very general way. According to the sources, this was exactly the case when it came to the introduction of the cult on the Palatine hill and the instalment of a *signum*.

These reflections hence open the possibility of identifying the ritual carried out by Augustus on the base. In this context, it makes sense to once again recall the situation in the year 12 BCE. In this year, Augustus had become *pontifex maximus*. This office meant that he was now the legal and religious head of the vestals and was committed to living in the *domus publica* next to the Vesta temple. To move his place of residence to the *forum romanum* in this way did, however, cause some difficulties for the emperor. He already had his residence on the Palatine hill—immediately adjacent to and embedded into a manifold web of relations with the apotropaic divinities and heroes of the Roman state and his own. Correspondingly, he was little motivated to change residence. This complicated situation could be resolved to the satisfaction especially of the deity by two gallant measures. Augustus declared parts of his house public, just as it was appropriate for the foremost state priest. In addition, he instituted an offshoot of the Vesta cult in his house on the Palatine hill. In order to justify such measures, it is necessary for the gods to unmistakably signal their agreement. From the point of view of Augustus, it was hence up to Vesta to provide the necessary legitimation for his actions. And this is precisely what the reliefs show us. On both the Palermo relief and the relief on the long side of the Sorrento base, the veiled Augustus receives a cult statue. In the presence of all her representatives, Vesta herself hands over to him the cult image for the cult place on the Palatine hill, and hence signals her sanctioning of Augustus' measures. In all Roman religious rituals, the will of the gods was in the foreground. They had to be satisfied for the Roman state to function as well as possible. No sacrifice is being shown on the image. The goddess herself recognises the need for a sanctuary in Augustus' house on the Palatine hill and signals her approval with the handing over of the cult statue.

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[47] Cic. *scaur.* 48; Ov. *trist.* 3.1.29; Ov. *fast.* 6.433–438.

This is the only way in which the depiction on the Sorrento base can be satisfactorily understood. The vestals are standing in a portico which, given the bend of the narrow side, can only be that of Augustus' house. It is here that the rituals in honour of Vesta are being carried out, just as reported by Ovid. As suggested by the presence of the vestals, the ritual is being performed in Augustus' house, namely in that part which he had declared public and put at the disposal of the Vesta cult in 12 BCE. The goddess herself is present and hands over a cult statue. She hence clearly shows that she acknowledges the new cult place. Only after this sequence of ritual actions can Augustus, as decided by divine judgement, become *pontifex maximus* and still keep his residence on the Palatine hill. That the round temple to Vesta in the *forum romanum* should appear in such a scene is not surprising. As already pointed out, it is only by its presence that the depicted goddess becomes clearly recognisable as Vesta. It is the starting point for the establishment of a new cult on the Palatine hill, but it is not in the foreground of events. This is precisely what is being depicted here. The curtains in the spaces between the columns hide the temple, thus letting it slip into a second plane of the scene. Similar to the murals in Pompeii, this merely opens a view to it.[48] It is still the iconographic symbol of the goddess, but can here no longer define the present place of action. It describes the starting point of the vestals' procession, which was part of the foundational act on the Palatine hill. At the same time, its depiction fulfils a third function: the viewer is shown the intact round temple in the *forum romanum*. In its interior stands the *palladium*, as had been the case since the old days of Rome. The intended message is clear: even though the cult of Vesta has an outpost on the Palatine hill, the cult on the *forum romanum* will not be neglected. As previously, the pledge of the Roman state and the welfare of the goddess will be taken care of in her central sanctuary.

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[48] Koeppel 1982a, 507–516.

If one accepts the interpretation of the presentation scene on the different reliefs and their reconstruction of a corresponding depiction on the Sorrento base, nothing opposes a unified message of the iconographic constellation on the base. The rituals shown on the long side (*fig. 83*), as those on the other three sides (*fig. 84–86*), are topographically located on the Palatine hill. It is Vesta herself who in 12 BCE acknowledges the Palatine hill as a place of worship. This is the only way by which she can accept Augustus' permanent residence there, even though it should actually have been near her main sanctuary in the *forum romanum*. The main panel of the Sorrento base stages one of the most extensive changes to ever take place in Rome's cult topography. It is eased and justified by the fictive agreement of the divinity. This interpretation lies within the bounds of written sources and archaeological evidence. The sources support the dedication of a cult image to Vesta on the Palatine hill, but are silent regarding a temple. The different post-Augustan phases in Vesta's sanctuary in the *forum* show that the main location for the worship of the goddess had always remained there. Her priestesses always lived in that place and took care of the sacred fire so that it never went out.[49] Vesta also moved into Augustus' house and acknowledged the surroundings as a place for her worship, but this does not allow the conclusion that she also had a temple there. While the house of the *pontifex maximus* and the main location of the Vesta cult in the *forum* were no longer united topographically, they definitely still were conceptually. The Sorrento base hence shows a topography of the Palatine hill, which covers all sacred and religious aspects. Mythological traditions are here combined with the latest measures of religious policy into a unified and internally logical concept. In this context, the different relief fragments from Italy and the provinces show the general interest and relevance of changes in state religion.

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[49] Mekacher 2006, 19–77.

This contribution focuses on monuments, which do not show the classic altar scene, but in which religious rituals are still the main topic depicted. It was not the ritual itself, carried out according to a calendrical rhythm, which was the subject, but the establishment of the cult. With the handing over of the cult image, the religious and ritual centre of the cult community is staged. To a greater extent than in the case of traditional sacrificial scenes, the image of the handing over of the statue focuses on the divinity itself, as it is physically present in the cult image that is handed over. Even in those cases in which the divinity does not hand over its own image, the person doing so instead has an exceptional relationship to the divinity. Such a scene evidently demonstrates that the symbolic mandate to establish and carry out a cult has been given to the cult community and that the cult is accepted by the divinity. At the same time, the organisational structure of the cult becomes clear. If the persons depicted accept the cult image, it is they who must in the future care for the regular maintenance of the cult. The presence of the divinity means that they are even more strongly bound by their ritual promise, whereby they are shown to the viewer as chosen persons, since the maintenance of the cult was entrusted to them. It hence makes sense that on the Sorrento base, Augustus himself steps before the goddess to be given the *signum* for the sanctuary on the Palatine hill directly by Vesta.

Of course, out of the different rituals of the cults in question (Vesta, *lares*, Minerva) a truly unique activity is depicted. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a regular calendrical maintenance of the cult is declared. This specific message is particularly clear on the Minerva altar. Here, the presentation scene on one side faces a traditional sacrificial scene on the other. While the one relief depicts the singular handing over of the statue, the other relief shows the statue already placed behind the altar and receiving sacrificial offerings. Accepting the *signum* implies the obligation to regularly practice the cult. It is for this reason that in the arts, the unique ritual of presentation can become the symbol for the regular performance of rituals, which in the future will have to be carried out in front of the received cult image.

ORNAMENTA, MONUMENTA, EXEMPLA GREEK IMAGES OF GODS IN THE PUBLIC SPACES OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Alessandra Bravi

In the tenth century CE, the bishop Arethas in Constantinople compiled a commentary on the fiftieth speech of Aelius Aristides.[1] A passage in Aristides' oration concerns the physical beauty embodied by images of the Olympian gods created by Pheidias: "Apart from physical beauty, by what is the spectator most overcome in modelling and sculpture? Is it not by the fairest and most magnificent statues, the ones, which have achieved the limits of perfection in these matters? The Olympian Zeus, the Athena at Athens—I mean the ivory one, and also, if you will, the Lemnian Athena—all these statues embody the unsurpassable skill of the craftsman and offer unsurpassable pleasure to the viewer".[2]

Arethas believed that "the Athena at Athens"[3] "is the one set up in the *forum* of Constantine at the porch of the council chamber, or senate, as they call it now; facing it on the right hand side of the porch as you go in is Thetis, the mother of Achilles, with a crown of crabs. The common people of today call the Athena sculpture 'Earth', and the Thetis one 'Sea', being misled by the marine monsters on her head".[4] Arethas seems to have been fully involved in the cultural atmosphere of the "renaissance of images" ruling the aristocratic culture of Constantinople at the end of the iconoclastic period. The cultivated class identified itself on the basis of a regained memory of a past grounded on the collective Greek *paideia*. The boundaries of Greek identity in Byzantine Constantinople were sharply drawn, and were embodied by the cult images present in the public spaces of the Byzantine city, images that are described in the ancient texts.

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[1] *Schol. Aristid. or.* 50. Jenkins 1947. 1951; Guberti Bassett 2004, 188–192. Arethas is the first Byzantine author to describe the Athena in Constantine's *forum*. Jahn 1848 introduced Arethas' text as evidence and suggested identifying the statue with the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias.

[2] Aristid. *or*. 50.

[3] Stichel 1988, 155–165.

[4] Kedrenos described the statue in front of the *curia* as a pendant to the statue of Amphitrite: Kedrenos I 565 (Bekker 1838–1839); translation in Guberti Bassett 2004, 189.

The Athena of Pheidias served, for Arethas, to retrieve the lost bond with the past. This was the connection between the objects present in the public spaces of Constantinople on the one hand and the ancient world as it appeared in the texts on the other, texts upon which Arethas vividly commented. These objects preserved intact the value of the ancient world out of which they arose. Themistios in the fourth century CE recognised the special "aura" of the Greek statues, specifically as conductors of history.[5] The Greek images reconstructed the past of the city as a centre of an empire, which still had its roots in the empire of Alexander, later more fully realised by Rome.

This paper deals with how the perception of Classical sculptures in the public spaces of Byzantine Constantinople changed over time.[6] The visitors were daily confronted in the public spaces of the city with sculptures of this kind. The perception of the visual inheritance of Greece and Rome was therefore vividly experienced in daily situations and influenced by social norms, ideas, thoughts, emotions, and values.

Classical images remained visible along the streets and squares of Constantinople throughout the centuries, from the inauguration of the city by Constantine in 330 CE to Niketas Choniates. The latter deplored the destruction of the ancient images in the flames of the crusades, as if they were the most prestigious inhabitants of the city, as well as the carriers of the core identity of Constantinople.[7]

Did the edicts of Theodosios, the iconoclasm, and the loot of the crusaders reflect a rupture in the perception of Classical images in urban spaces? What function did these works of art fulfil in a world that was constantly transforming itself? How may one reconstruct the use and perception of the pagan world of images in the process of Christianisation?

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[5] Themistios, *orationes*, 17.308; 18.324; 31.192: Guberti Bassett 2004, 150.

[6] The classical images in the public spaces of Constantinople are the scope of my current research, which I am conducting in Heidelberg under the direction of T. Hölscher. The Gerda Henkel Foundation is generously funding my current research.

[7] Cutler 1968; Mango 1963.

Decorum, ornamentum, *and* kosmos: *Rome and Constantinople*

According to Sozomenos, Constantine erected Classical sculptures in public squares and buildings πρὸς κόσμον (as ornament, for ornamentation), in order to beautify the city with images.[8] *Kosmos* is the Greek word for the Latin *ornamentum*. *Ornatus* and *ornamentum* correspond to the Greek concept of beauty.

Aesthetic perception and pragmatic values of Greek works of art in Rome were deeply involved with the political and public sphere, and moral concepts for ordinary life were vividly expressed with visual means. Since the time of the late Republic and early Empire, works of art from the Greek East had been erected in the public spaces of Rome, especially monuments of victory and *exempla* of social virtues. Livius classified as *ornamenta* the *signa* (sculptures), which Claudius Marcellus had acquired in Syracuse.[9] Greek images as *ornamenta* carried with them a huge symbolic value, which they owed to their function as expressions of power. The aesthetic content of these works of art was contained in a use of forms, which communicated victoriousness and *virtus*, and also individual charisma, which was, however, ambivalent in a social context. On the one hand this individual charisma was the prerequisite for victory, on the other, it was dangerous and subversive, since it could turn an established hierarchy on its head.[10]

In Augustan times, a political relevance was attached to Greek images. They expressed the all-encompassing power and significance of Rome as the capital of the world.[11] In addition, the images also contained within them elements of a collective identity.[12] The ancient writers spoke of a *ratio*, an active practice that determined the perception of the world of images in everyday life. In the observer's perception the relationship between the meanings of the artefacts and the nature of their display contexts was expressed by the Latin term *decorum* or *decor*.

Id quod decet, the principle of *decorum*, can be understood as a *sens pratique* of the display and perception of images in the private and public spaces, which we find in the writings of Cicero and Vitruvius.[13] *Decorum* enables us to explain why the image of a Muse was considered appropriate to express the sense of a location such as a library: namely as a place where one carried out one's studies and where one might have found poetic activity. *Decorum* defines both the function and the social significance of the images.[14] Images utilised as expressions of victory and social virtue were thus considered appropriate for *fora*, locations in which both cultural identity as well as the political and collective values of society were expressed on a visual level.[15]

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[8] Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.5.

[9] Liv. 25.40.1. See also Sylvia Estienne's article in the present volume.

[10] Plut. *Marc.* 21.

[11] Zanker 1990.

[12] Hölscher 1992 and Hölscher 2005.

Case study: the forum *of Constantine*

The *forum* of Constantine[16] was shaped in a homogenous way by "Apollinian" imagery. The later Byzantine authors interpreted the circular shape, familiar in the oriental cities of the Empire, as a symbol: it reproduced the shape of the tent of the emperor during the victorious battle against Licinius.[17] The image of Athena standing on a base, with helmet and *aegis* with *gorgoneion*, was perceived in the ninth century CE as an allegoric representation of the earth. On the opposite side was the figure of Thetis, the sea, with a crown of marine animals:[18] this ensemble could represent symbolically the imperial rule over land and sea. The layout of the *forum* of Constantine called to mind the image of the emperor in war. In the centre of the sculptural decor was the image of Constantine as Helios (the personification of the sun), which stood on a column made of porphyry. Bronze laurels were entwined around the column and thus completed the Apollinian symbolism. A unified *decorum* of the *ornamenta* pervades the entire composition and thereby lent Constantine's expression the Apollinian charisma.

The multitude of ancient images animating the *forum*—Thetis, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Athena—embodied the sense of victory usually marking imperial urban spaces of triumphal significance. Until the late Byzantine age, the *forum* kept its role as a space in which the triumphs of emperors were celebrated.[19]

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[13] Cic. *Off.* 1.93–94 and 98; *Or.* 70–72. On Vitruvius' passage (7.5.2), see Hölscher forthcoming.

[14] Hölscher, forthcoming.

[15] The Aphrodite of Praxiteles, one of the most famous Greek works of art, can be considered an appropriate expression of the *felicitas* of the general Licinius Lucullus in the *aedes felicitates*, Bravi forthcoming.

[16] Bauer 1996, 167–187.

[17] Preger 174; see also the basic sources attesting the display at the *forum*, as translated by Guberti Bassett 2004, 188–208.

[18] Guberti Bassett 2004, 188–208.

Eusebios and the pagan world of images

From the iconoclastic perspective of Eusebios, the viewers of Greek works of art in Constantinople, though not devoid of *kalon*, *kosmos*, and *decorum*, should perceive them as worthless:

> The pompous statues of brass were exposed to view in all the public spaces of the imperial city, so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo excited the contempt of the beholder, while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome and the Muses of Helikon in the palace. In short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of the superstition had long vainly honoured as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to think rightly, when the emperor held up these very playthings to be the ridicule and the sport of all beholders.[20]

In the scholarly history of our subject, Eusebios' passage played a key role.[21] As emphasised by C. Mango, it is possible for us to cross the boundary of a purely aesthetic perspective and turn against the reduction of the images to a simple decorative function: "not so much with the statues themselves as with the effect they produced upon the Byzantine spectator. How did he look upon these statues? Did he admire them and derive from them some inspiration for his own artistic creations? Or was he, on the contrary, shocked by them, or, perhaps, simply indifferent?"[22] The viewer, the prominent figure of the modern *Bildwissenschaft*, comes to light and gains his proper place in a field, which is dominated by antiquarian philological research.[23]

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[19] When a triumph was to be celebrated at the Constantine's *forum*, the emperor went out of the palace by way of "the Excubita, the Scholae, the Chalke, and from the outer railing of the Chalke the emperor turns right together with the procession and goes to the Holy Well": *Liber de cerimoniis* 608, translation in Mango 2000.

[20] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.54; Mango 1963, 57.

[21] The consideration of the inner meaning of the sculptures was thus left unhindered. Henceforth, the question of the Byzantine observer and the influence of ancient works of art upon him became the focal one, especially in the area of the magico-cultural interpretation: Dawkins 1924 and Mango 1963, 55–59.

[22] Mango 1963, 55.

[23] Zanker 1997 and Zanker 2000.

In Mango's opinion, this viewer then came in two forms. Educated courtiers and other notables wrote *ekphraseis*, or considered the Classical forms as the epitome of culture and civilization. The unbiased viewers, however, who were not classically educated, viewed the images with different eyes. They valued the enigmatic figures as magical and animated fetishes harbouring hidden powers: under the smooth surface of the marble and bronze statues a secret disquieting world opened up.

According to Eusebios, pagan idols placed in public spaces had lost their *decorum*, and instead had become simply "decorative" in the modern sense. The images in public spaces of Constantinople testify, however, to the opposite: their vivid nature was emphasised, since they expressed in an appropriate way traditional social values—from Alexander the Great to the Victoria on the Hippodrome, to the portrayal of the city Tyche (probably as Rhea Kybele), to the Delphic tripod, symbol of the sacrality of political spaces.[24] In the *strategeion*, which was the point of departure for the triumphal processions as well as the place of the emperor's *adventus* into the city, images of Greek heroes such as Aias, Achilles, and Alexander were located.[25]

Ancient statues in the Theodosian age

In the year 382 CE, Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosios prescribed to the Duke of Osrhoene that "each temple shall be continually open … in which images are reported to have been placed, which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity".[26] Removed from sanctuaries and cult places, cult images were demoted to the world of artefacts.[27] In public spaces of Constantinople, these artefacts expressed adequately the *maiestas* of the imperial power.

The *lauseion* was erected at the core of the city,[28] and adorned in the fifth century CE with some of the most famous cult statues of Greek gods: Athena Lindia of Dipoinos and Skyllis, the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, an Archaic statue of Hera from Samos by Athenis and Boupalos, the Classical statue of the Eros from Myndos, attributed to Lysippos, the chryselephantine Zeus by Pheidias from Olympia, and the Kairos by Lysippos. Images of exotic and rare animals and mythical beasts were also displayed there.[29] In the palace of Lausos, which was referred to by Zonaras as "the splendour in the city", the ancient images of gods involved the beholder in a full perception of historical continuity; the view of the Greek religious past substantiated the present power of Byzantine Constantinople.

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[24] Papalexandrou 2004, 9 stresses that the Delphic tripod "was meant to symbolically assert the territorial and political unassailability of the Greek world at its very heart".

[25] On the hippodrome: Guberti Bassett 1991; *Strategeion*: Guberti Bassett 2000, 242–244 and Mango 2000, Appendix; Sources: Corso 2001, 41.

[26] *Cod. Theod.*, 16.10.8.

[27] Corso 2001, 42–47.

[28] Mango – Vickers – Francis 1992, 89. 93–94. 95; Bardill 1997, 67–68; Guberti Bassett 2004, 98–120 and 232–238.

The "Greek Roman Empire" of Theodosios carries on the ancient idea of the widespread extension of Roman overseas hegemony.[30] Constantinople appears at the very core of this multicoloured picture. Emphasis on the ecumenical role of the capital city is once more expressed by showing its dominance over the *techne*. Greek *anathemata* were partly perceived as expressions of ancient forms of faith, partly as preserving the aura of prestigious political gifts, as symbols of kingship. Thus, they also served the role of objects representing the opulence of ancient empires. They transmitted the idea of a political power that had never actually been lost, but only transferred to the new capital city, the *omphalos* of the *oikoumene*, and centred there. The marble statues of animals coming from the far corners of the world transmitted the wide range of the empire's conquest, and communicated the meanings of the wealth and opulence succeeding the victory. Centaurs, tigers, and monsters, all assembled together with ancient works of art, stressed the idea of the city as the *hestia koine*. The famous works of art, the merchandise, and the materials that reached Constantinople and had been collected there in the public spaces all demonstrated that the city was the *epitome* of the civilised world.

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[29] Philostorgios, in a passage of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* written a little after 425 CE and known only through a summary given by Photios, attests the presence of animals and mythological shapes. Among them was the *ektypoma* of a unicorn, "usually impossible to see because it does not live in the Mediterranean world" (Philostorgios 3.11). The *lauseion* was said by Pseudo-Codinus (1100 CE) to be one of the twelve palaces of Constantine who must have built it around 330 CE; it was therefore part of the imperial property. The residential quarters of the palace were inhabited during the reigns of Arkadios and Theodosios II by the *patricius* and *praepositus sacri cubiculi Lausus* (Pseudo-Codinus, *Patria* 2. 36.27.B.37–8.170 Preger 1907). The bishop Palladios dedicated to him the *Historia Lausiaca*; the preface portrays Lausus as an exemplar of Christian virtue, *cf.* Guberti Bassett 2000, 11 and 13–14.

[30] Millar 2006.

Decorum *and ancient images in the sixth century* CE

In the Justinian era, we still come across traces of ancient figurative praxis. In the Justinian *chalké* (the facade of the imperial palace) one still sensed the effects of the idea of *decorum* of the Classical images in the public display: the position of military *virtus* and fame was expressed by the use of ancient images.[31] The hall of the palace was decorated with mosaics portraying battle scenes and state ceremonies of a long tradition. On the outer facade there was a row of niches in which sculptures were placed, which portrayed classical subjects and emperors: Maximianos, Theodosios, Zeno, Justinian I stood next to images of philosophers (supposedly from Athens), *gorgoneia*, and bronze horses from the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.

In the seventh century CE the Classical world changed its figurative conventions. Under Maurikios (582–602 CE), the holy image of Maria replaced the Nike on the sails of the warships. The appropriateness of Maria as victory goddess became manifest in 620 CE: the emperor Herakleios stopped the Avars at the doors of the city while displaying the holy icon of the Virgin, and leading the *theotokos* in a procession.[32] Victory came from the new goddess protecting the city.

Decorum *and the byzantine viewer:* *the* Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai

In the era of the *Parastaseis*, the official world of images in Constantinople came under attack by the followers of iconoclasm.[33] In the context of the conflict over images, the hostilities with the Arabs and the epidemic of 747 CE, the Classical *paideia* significantly declined. The original political functions as *praecipua ornamenta* were lost: signs of power turned into portrayals of wonders, *mirabilia*, which were perceived as unusual, wondrous, and symbolic objects. In the range between practical living and the supernatural, their presence influenced their surroundings, and they acquired a repulsive *Aura des Dämonischen*.[34]

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[31] Janin 1964, 111 and Guberti Bassett 2004, 186–188.

[32] Cameron 1978; Cameron 1979; Belting 2004.

[33] One may date the beginning of the debates over the cult of images (the so called "iconoclasm") to the time of emperor Leon III Isaurikos (717–741 CE). He prohibited by decree (730 CE) the honouring of icons; his decision caused violent religious clashes, which lasted for over a century. The politics of iconoclasm were abandoned in 787 CE, but were picked up again in 815 CE. Emperor Theophilos (829–842 CE) was the last representative of this policy, and after his death, people no more spoke of iconoclasm. On the phenomenon of the iconoclasm, see Speck 1984.

Useful information regarding the value of the images in this era can be found in a singular text, a type of *breviarium* regarding what one was able to see in the city, and bearing the title *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*.[35] Authors and recipients of the work were from the same milieu: bureaucracy and laymen of some standing. The vision reflected by this text seems to embody the pride of the middle-cultivated bourgeoisie and its glorious identity as citizens of the capital city of the empire. The ancient statues were definitely part of this identity. The Greek images reminded of the past and its cultural greatness. Nevertheless, they had also become disturbing artefacts, which had to be treated with caution.

The following episode from the rule of emperor Philippikos Bardanes (711–713 CE) is a case in point. A group of aristocrats had gathered in the retinue of the emperor in the *kynegion*, the old amphitheatre on the slopes of the acropolis, in order to study the numinous power of the statues they had received. One of these statues suddenly fell over and killed one of the members of the group, thus causing the emperor to command that the statue be buried.[36]

The Classical forms disappeared from relevant social practice, even if they retained a certain general value as *monumenta* (to remember, not to forget). Their misunderstood meaning became attached to new interpretations, which had the tendency to integrate the Classical forms with new values and new practices.

The ancient images then attained a status between those of regular objects and cult objects. In this intermediate area, the meanings of specific vivid, emotional, allegorical, or symbolic forces were then transferred onto the work of art itself. Michael I (811–813 CE) had the bronze statue of the Tyche of the city destroyed. The goddess had been placed with a cornucopia in her hand at the eastern city gate. Michael's intention with this act was to suppress a rebellion by the people, and the purpose of destroying the statue was to rob the people of their *dynamis*.[37]

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[34] Schlögl – Giesen – Osterhammel 2004.

[35] Cameron-Herrin 1984.

[36] Cameron-Herrin 1984, 27–28; James 1996; Scheer 2001. Several ancient sources attest similar accidents in ancient Greece, see for example Paus. 6.11.6 on the statue of Theagenes of Thasos, *cf.* Elsner 1996, 527–528.

[37] *Patria* 2.101 (Preger 1907).

Classical images in the elitist awareness of the Macedonian renaissance

In the time of Arethas, that is, in the era following the rupture of the conflict about the sculptures, the interest arose again in the Classical images of Constantinople. This "renaissance" also had a political motive: the Macedonian dynasty reclaimed for itself a universalism of Graeco-Roman nature.[38]

Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos peppered his political writings with references to Classical images of a political character, such as the famous Herakles by Lysippos, a symbol of the sovereignty of the Macedonian dynasty. This image of Herakles was brought from Rome to Constantinople soon after the inauguration of the latter in 337 CE. The ancient images seem to have regained their political dimension in the time of the so-called Macedonian renaissance: they reconquered the public space within the framework of the new court ideology. Under Constantine VII, the court historian Rhodios described the "seven wonders" of Constantinople. In addition to the "wonders" themselves, their political significance was also important: the sculpture of Justinian as a knight, the porphyry column of Constantine, then the columns of Theodosios and Arkadios, and the armed Athena made of bronze, which stood outside of the senate building. These were still significant as symbols, especially as long as the imperial dynasty tried to legitimise its hold on power, which they did by referring to the universality of Roman rule.[39]

In the time of the dynasties of the Komnenoi and Angeloi, Konstantinos Manasses in his *descriptio imaginum* (mid-twelfth century CE) emphasised the *perennitas* of the Classical forms. The grammarian Johannes Tzetzes (*ca.* 1110–1180 CE) presented himself as representative of a "radical classicism" of the last "flowering" eras of the Byzantine Empire. Tzetzes conjured up a remembrance of Pheidias, whom he called his friend and confidant. Eustathios of Thessalonike (1110–1194 CE) referred to Greece as an imaginary location of *mirabilia*.

It is thus a question of a type of perception of the Classical images and a type of attitude to these sculptures, which was educated and literary. The old images of gods were viewed as commanding expressions of power. They thus attained a new and relevant value. As previously, however, a symbolic power was also attributed to the ancient monuments in the streets. In the twelfth century CE there were two bronze sculptures, probably the Athena and Amphitrite from the *forum* of Constantine, which were known respectively as "the Roman woman" and "the Hungarian woman". When "the Roman woman" fell over, during a campaign of Manuel I Komnenos against the Hungarians, it was issued by decree that this statue should be replaced while the second sculpture be turned to the other side.[40]

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[38] Simon 1964; Weitzmann 1971, 176–223; Magdalino 1988; Corso 1991, 116–127.

[39] Berger 2004.

Niketas Choniates and the destruction of the images

In 1203 CE the populace broke to pieces the great Athena, which stood outside the senate's house at the *forum* of Constantine. By the gesture of her right hand outstretched towards the south, it was thought she was beckoning to the army of the Crusaders.[41] The Crusaders captured Constantinople a year later. The historian Niketas Choniates wrote a dirge on the statues that were then destroyed.[42] The destruction wrought by the enemy was then completed by the zeal of Christian monks. In their eyes, the Classical images had been apparitions of the demon for a long time. They tore down the symbols of imperial power in the hippodrome, "the Herakles of Lysippos. Great and mighty he sat on a basket," the Herakles, which Fabius Maximus had erected on the capitol as an expression of *honos* to the old god of those holding triumphs on the Capitol in Rome.[43]

"There was set up in the Hippodrome a bronze eagle … his wings were aflap as though attempting flight, while a coiled snake clutched in his claws prevented its being carried aloft by striking out at the winged extremities of his body … while the snake breathed its last and expired with its venom unspent, the eagle exulted and, all but screeching out his victory song, hastened to lift up the serpent and bore it aloft to leave no doubt as to the outcome by the flashing of his eyes and the serpent's mortification".[44] In 29 BCE, Augustus had two paintings put up in the newly built Curia Iulia. One was "a Nemea seated on a lion, holding a palm branch in her hand," a work of the artist Nikias. The other showed "a son in the prime of life and an elderly father, allowing for the difference of age: above them soars an eagle with a snake in its claws".[45] According to the convincing interpretation offered by T. Hölscher, this painting represented the victory and triumph of Rome over her enemies.[46] In Constantinople, the eagle with the serpent functioned as a symbol of imperial rule. We recognise the second motif from a mosaic in the imperial palace; in one of the areas of the city most representative of imperial power, the eagle with the serpent has retained the same symbolic content concerning victory and power.[47]

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[40] Mango 1963, 32.

[41] Grabler 1958, 132–133.

[42] Mango 1963, 68 and Cutler 1968.

[43] Ritter 1995, no. 3 and 28.

[44] Magoulias 1984, 651.

The war of images expressed conflicts of knowledge. For the Greek elite of the city, as well as for uneducated people, the Classical images symbolised the exercise of power, knowledge, memory, civilization, identity and otherness, rituals and values, *techne*: they were *ornamenta*, *monumenta*, and *exempla*. For the Christian Latins, they embodied a world of symbols that had to be destroyed: a violent attempt to remove or alter the cultural inheritance of the Classical era. For the educated inhabitants of Constantinople, the destruction of these symbols suggested that their Roman inheritance was slipping out of their hands, the inheritance of which they considered themselves the rightful recipients.

The decorum *in modern perspectives: continuity and rupture, from the Classical era to the renaissance*

The period between Justinian and the looting of the crusaders was a phase of development in the cultural life of the works of art in question. Byzantion was the inheritor of Classical court ceremony and the corresponding ways of life of the emperors and the elite. It is only due to the historical and cultural developments occurring during this time period that one may approach an understanding of the continuing life of the ancient world, of the modern term "classic" as a cultural model, of the Classical forms and values as active *exempla* in society, and of the Classical images as *paradeigmata* for life and as manifestations of social values according to culturally determined rules in the sense of *decorum*. The term *decorum* becomes one of the most important pragmatic principles in the rediscovery of Classical art during the Renaissance. This is the leitmotif connecting the ancient world of images to the modern one.

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[45] Plin. *Nat.hist*. 35.27–28.

[46] Hölscher 1989.

[47] For the eagle with serpent see Wittkover 1938–1939 who extensively discussed this subject, addressing all the possible meanings and functions of the symbolic content.

Julian the Egyptian, who lived in Constantinople between *ca.* 490 and 550 CE, wrote epigrams, ekphrastic descriptions of ancient and contemporary works of art. There is among the anonymous statues, which he described, a sculpture of the flying Ikaros, which was probably situated in a bath area.[48] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, an art theorist of the Renaissance, saw the fall of Ikaros as the perfect subject for a sculpture for fountains or gardens. The rules, which Lomazzo laid out were used in the monuments of his own time, for example in the Fontana di Orione by Montorsoli in Messina, on which twenty mythological scenes are portrayed, with water as the unifying theme. Among these is the fall of Ikaros. Ikaros flying upwards, in a bath in Constantinople, fit well into the context of public bath areas, precisely because of its connection with the sea. In his treatise, Lomazzo listed the subjects that are appropriate for different spaces: gloomy themes for burial grounds, such as the death of Mary or Lazaros; for gathering places of the "secular princes and Lords", on the other hand, subjects like Cicero holding his speeches against Catilina in the senate, the gathering of the Greeks before their departure to Troy, or the fight between Aias and Odysseus regarding the weapons of Achilles. Fountains and gardens require "stories of the loves of the Gods" amid "water, trees, and other gay and delightful things".[49]

The change in the meaning of images is connected to the various cultural contexts in which the images are experienced and used. But that, which remains a constant factor, and makes *decorum* into a key feature of the world of images, is the social value of the images as symbols, their appropriateness and sense of belonging to the structured system of symbolic value, which the culture in question may have developed. The change in meaning in the classical world of images in Constantinople is analogous with the "iconology" of the west. The conventions of portrayal and functional patterns of use, which ancient Rome had produced, adapted themselves to the continuity and alteration in the public life of Constantinople. For it was through Byzantion that the flood of images, which embodied the civilization of the Graeco-Roman *oikoumene*, went on its way to the west.

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[48] Corso 1991, n. 1966.

[49] Gombrich 1972, 8.

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INDEX OF PASSAGES CITED

For the index the Latin versions of Greek authors' names according to *TLG* have been adopted.

Aeschines
In Ctes.
  13 154n65

Aeschylus
Eum.
  397–409 117
Sept.
  42–53 166

Anthologia Graeca
  16.275 200

Anthologia Palatina
  7.423.1–4 198n130

Pseudo-Apollodorus
Bibl.
  2.71.4 176n20, 183n49

Archilochus fr.
  3a West 218
  5 West 215
  32 West 218
  35 West 218
  95 West 218
  98.5 West 217
  174.1 219
  185.1 219
  295 West 214

Aristides
Or.
  50 289

Schol. Aristides
Or.
  50 289

Aristophanes
Pax
  922–924 126
Plut.
  676–681 135
Vesp.
  804 110

Schol. Aristoph.
Av.
  1073 211
Eq.
  785a 155

Aristoteles
Ars Poetica
  1448b–1449a 217
Ath. Pol.
  7.1 95
  14.4 131
  21.4 158
Pol.
  1299a 14–20 123n9
Rh.
  2.23 2398b11–17 220

Artemidorus
Oneirokritikon 176n19
  2.35 139
  3.3.2 134

Athenaeus
  6.253e 194n111
  11.473b–c 128
  13.590e 132
  14.2 18

Athenagoras
Leg.
  4.1.6 211

Callimachus 190
Aetia 205n5, 206n6, 206n9
Dieg. 215, 220, 222
Ep. 207
Hym. 176n20, 234
Hym. Del. 205
Hym. Dian. 205, 206n11
Iamb. 215, 217, 218
Pinakes 224

Callistratus 200n136
Statuarum descriptiones
  6.2 201

Cassius Dio
  22.76.2 265
  48.39.2 227
  53.22.3 265n35
  53.27.3 267
  54.7.2 232n39

Cicero
De oratore
  2.357 3
Dom.
  121 271n58
Nat.deor.
  1.2; 1.63 211
Off.
  1.93–94, 1.98 292
Or.
  70–72 292
Scaur.
  48 284
Ver.
  2.4.4 265
  2.4.64 264n26
  2.4.72–83 259

Clemens Alexandrinus
Protr.
  2.24 P 211
  4.40 83
  54.6 15

Codex Theodosianus
  16.10.8 294

Dio Chrysostomus
Or.
  31.74 172

Diodorus
  1.16.1–2 212
  4.14.3 183n49
  5.78.2 225

Dionysius Halikarnassensis
Ant. Rom. 232

Euripides
IT
  976–978 127
Phoen.
  854 128

Eusebius
Vit. Const.
  3.54 293

Hephaestion
Ench.
  21.14 219

Herodas
Mimiambi
  4.88–90 135

Herodotus
1.60 131
1.132 121
2.4.2 77
2.50 77
2.51.1 77
8.55 128
9.100 192n94

Hesiodus
Theog. 128

Himerius
Or.
13.1 201

Homerus
Il.
5.76–78 133
5.401–402 26
5.899–901 26
10.33 133
11.58 133
13.218 133
16.603–605 133
Od.
3.54–61 26

Hymn. Hom.
Apollo
3.131–132 176n20
Hermes
4.54–59 209n28

Libanius
Or.
37.7 182n46

Livius 263n21
22.32.4–5 263n22
25.40.1 291
26.34 265
38.44 265
40.50.5 263

Lucianus
Iupp.trag.
7 107
Herc. 178

Pseudo-Lucianus
Amor.
13–16 1

Lycophron 190

Macrobius
Sat.
3.11.5–6 262

Ovidius
Fast.
4.949 282
6.433–438 284
Met.
8.288 234
8.317 233
15.864 282
Trist.
3.1.29 284

Patria
2.101 297

Pausanias 12n41
1.3.1–3 160
1.15.4 165
1.18.4 160
1.22.3 195n116
1.26.5 128
1.26.6 81
1.27.8 156–157
2.4.5 107
2.15.5 128
2.19.4 94
2.22.2 94
2.23.7 161
2.30.2 110
2.30.6 128
2.31.10 182n49
2.32.7 156
3.10.8 132

Pausanias (*continued*)
  3.16.1 105
  3.16.10–11 137
  3.22.1 80
  4.31.1–2 225
  4.31.7 132
  4.33.3 110
  5.13.11 150
  5.21.9 250
  6.9.6 228n14
  6.11.6–9 297n36
  6.25.1 177, 196n119
  6.25.5–6 6
  6.26.3 178
  7.18.7, 8–10 228
  7.18.12 131
  7.22.1–5 74–75
  7.27.2–3 136
  7.27.4 132
  8.8.12 225
  8.9.6 226n6, 237n65
  8.12.9 233
  8.15.2 164n115
  8.15.5 236
  8.23.1 237n65
  8.26.7 230
  8.31.4 188
  8.37.3 230
  8.38.6–7 230
  8.41.6 175
  8.42.4 175, 177n25, 191n88
  8.44–45 228
  8.45.5 228, 229
  8.46.1 106, 225, 226, 234, 235
  8.46.4–5 106, 232, 234
  8.47.1 230, 238
  8.53.3 132
  8.53.4 225
  8.55.5 233
  9.10.2 6
  9.18.1–3 78–79
  9.22.2 94
  9.27.1 81
  9.27.2–3 265
  9.30.1 235
  9.33.6 235, 236
  9.40.10–12 138
  10.19.3 210n37

Philostorgius
  3.11 295

Plato
Cra.
  407e–408a 212
Leg.
  759a–d 123
  909d–e 123n14
  955e–956a 108
Plt.
  290c–e 123n9

Plautus 261

Plinius (the Elder)
Nat. hist.
  34.58 266n36
  34.69 265
  35.24–25 279n26
  35.27–28 300
  35.32 279n26
  35.66 192n93
  35.91 225
  36.22 265
  36.39 265
  36.43 261

Plinius (the Younger)
Ep.
  9.39.3 267n43
Pan.
  53.1–3 267

Plutarchus
Ant.
  34.1 227
Arat.
  32.2 136
Marc.
  21 291
Instit. Lac.
  34.239b 215

Sol.
  25.2 160
Thes.
  8 145n14
  27.7 159
  35.8 165

Pseudo-Plutarchus
De musica
  28.1140f–1141b
  219

Pollux
Onom.
  8.86 160

Polyaenus
Strat.
  8.59 130

Porphyrius
De abst.
  2.18 106
  4.22.7 123n14

Posidippus
SH
  705 223

Propertius
  2.31.1–2 279
  2.31.7–8 282, 283

Quintillianus
Inst.Orat.
  12.10.9 107

Res Gest. div. Aug.
  232, 266, 283
  20 276
  173 282

Seneca
Suas.
  1.6–7 227

Servius
Georg.
  3.16 257

Sozomenus
Historia Ecclesiastica
  2.5 291

Statius 10n35

Strabo
  4.14.1 138
  7.7.6 228
  8.1.8 227
  8.3.30 251
  8.6.23 264
  13.1.30 266n36
  14.1.14 266n36

Suda 126

Suetonius
Aug.
  52 265
  57.2 266
  72 234
Tib.
  26 242, 257
Calig.
  22.2 253

Tacitus
Ann.
  3.64 258

Themistius
Or.
  17.308 290
  18.324 290
  31.192 290

Theocritus
Idyll.
  25.209 183n49

Theophrastus
Char.
16.1–2 72n46
16.5 71

Thucydides
1.53 192n94
6.27 110
6.61.2 154

Valerius Maximus
6.3 ext.1 215

Vergilius
Aen.
8.129–130 232

Vitruvius
4.1.2 260n11
4.1.7 261n14
7.5.2 292

Xenophon
An.
2.2.9 166
Mem.
1.1.14 70

Xenophon Ephesius
1.2.5–7 131

SUBJECT INDEX

Abraxas, 188
Acheloos, 152–153, 187
  images of, 175
Achilles: arms of, 165, 301
  images of, 294
acrolithic, 246
adventus, 294
aedes Herculis Musarum, in Rome, 192
Aegean iconography, 22–24, 37–42, 51–60
  ambiguity of, 40–42, 51, 55
  lacking features of individuality, 23, 57–58
  lacking mythological cycles, 23
  lacking regional diversity, 23
  methodology of, 22
  palatial character of, 23
aegis, 116, 183, 193–195, 203, 292
Aeneas, 194n110, 233, 274–276
agalma/agalmata, 5, 76, 81, 87, 129, 203, 207, 212, 226, 229, 234, 236
  agalma pompikon, 48
  Hermes *as tetragonon agalma*, 77
agalmatophilia, 2n1
agelastos petra, 155, 156n72, 191n88
Aglaureion. *See* Athens: Aglaureion
Agrippa, 267, 275
Aias, 301
  images of, 294
Aias (lesser), 16, 113, 114, 115, 116, 116n41
Aigaion, 194n107
Aigeus (father of Theseus), 155n70, 156
Aigina, 164n114, 225
  sanctuary of Hekate, 110
  Temple of Aphaia, 182n42
Aigion, on the Peloponnese, 194
Ainos, in Thrace, 4, 208, 209n27, 210, 218, 221, 222
Aischylos, 107–108
Aithra (mother of Theseus) 156
aition, of cult images, 205, 210, 211, 221, 224
Aitolia, 130, 136
Akademos, 148n28
Aktaion, 11, 145n14
Aktion, battle of, 225–226, 232, 233
Alalkomenai, 236
Aleos (founder of Tegea), 229, 231
Alexander the Great, images of, 294
Alexandria, 223
  Shrine of the Muses, 223
Alkamenes (sculptor), 109, 110, 111
alsos, 136
altar, 123, 134, 140, 236
  of Apollo at Didyma, 150
  Cretan terracotta; of Fortuna Primigenia, 269
  of the Metroon at Olympia, 250
  to Minerva dedicated by the *fabri tignarii*, on the Palatine, 273–277
  on Roman relief sculpture, 273–277
  shapes of, 150–154
  shield as, 166
  of the Six Goddesses, Thessalian, 66n19
  in vase painting, 151, 153n59, 166n123, 166n124
  to Vesta on the Palatine, 281–282
  votive, 87
  on votive reliefs, 149, 149n37, 150–155
  of Zeus, 114
  See also bomos; *eschara*; *Lithos*
Amazons, 143, 159, 165, 205

ambiguity: of Archaic statues, 8n29, 203
  between god and statue, 113, 117–118
  in iconography, 166, 175, 185, 202
  in iconography of korai, 92, 97–98, 98n28
  in Minoan iconography, 40–41, 43, 51, 55–56
  of *ornamenta*, 265–266, 270
Ambrakia, 192
Amphiaraos, 191
Amphiareion of Oropos, 123
Amphitrite, 188–189, 189n76, 195
anathema, anathemata, 127, 130, 263n19, 295
Anchises, 233
andrias, 5, 173
Anemospilia, 47
aniconism, 9–10
  ancient perception of, 69–86
  of cult images, 210
  definition of, 67
  as described by Clement of Alexandria, 83–86
  as described by Pausanias, 73–82
  as described by Xenophon and Theophrastos, 70–73, 84
  in divine images, 63–86
  as fetishism 67
  as local religious ideology and prestige, 82
  material and empty space, 67
  in Minoan cult, 57, 58
  as primitive, 64–68, 70, 72, 80, 82, 85
  as reference to primitive deep past, 78, 82
  stelai and stones, 63, 82
  as totemism and animism, 66
  as transgression of theological ethics, 85
Antheia, fictional heroine, 131
anthropomorphism, 9, 40, 45, 49, 67, 127n33, 131, 140, 174, 175
Antiparos, grave stele of, 199, 199n135
Antoninus Pius, 246, 247
Antonius, Marcus, 106, 225, 227, 231
Anubis, 188
aphidryma, 139, 231, 237
aphlaston, 119
Aphrodite, 98, 132, 153n59, 182, 194–195, 292
  on the Akrokorinth, 195
  of Aphrodisias, 174
  Epitragia, 196n119
  of Knidos, 1–3
  Ourania, 200n135
  painted by Apelles, 225
  Pandemos, 195
  Symmachia, 226
  statues of, 173n4, 177
  in vase painting, 182n44, 185n56
  See also cults; statuary
Apis, Egyptian oracle of, 77
Apollo/Apollon, 93, 99, 127, 146n15, 176n20, 182, 193n102, 197, 205n5, 219, 220, 221, 223, 236, 269n53, 279, 282
  Amyklaios, 108, 197
  Choragetes, 191
  Delian, 108, 206n6
  Ismenios, *temenos* of, 6
  Karneios, 149
  Kitharodos, 191
  Milesian, 206n6
  Mousagetes, 191, 220
  Lykeios, 94n17
  Palatinus, 265
  Patroos, 202, 247
  Prostaterios, 220
  Pythios, 236
  oracle of, 4
  in vase painting, 115, 117–118
  on votive relief, 146n15
  See also cults; statuary
apotheosis, 275
apotropaic, 34, 184n54
aprosopon, 9

Ara of the *vicomagistri*, 273, 274n3
Ara Pacis, 275
Ara Pietatis, 273, 274n3
Arcadia, 225–226, 230, 231, 233, 236
  connection to Rome, 232–233
archaism: of Cypriot *korai*, 97
  denoting "statue", 11, 114–118
  archaistic representation of
    divinities, 10–11, 105–120, 231
  archaistic style, 10, 90, 106, 109, 111, 229, 230
  of type, 109–110
  narrative archaism, 112–113
Archilocheion, 220–221
Archilochos (iambicist of Paros), 214–215, 217–224
architecture, sacred Minoan and Mycenaean, 28–31, 43
Ares, 146, 175, 196, 196n122, 197
  Hippios, 193
Arethas, bishop in Constantinople, 289–290, 298
argoi lithoi. *See lithoi*
Arion (poet), 184
Aristarche (priestess of Artemis), 138–139
arrhephoroi, 90, 96
Artemision, 119
Artemis, 93, 97n24, 132, 136, 138–139, 146n15, 148n29, 176n20, 182, 185n55, 191, 193n97, 236, 245, 292
  Brauronia, 162n106, 231
  at Ephesos, 138, 205
  Eukleia, 220
  Laphria, 228
  Leukophryene, 128
  Orth(e)ia, 108, 137, 228
  at Patrai, 131
  Phosphoros, 193, 202
  Soteira, 136
  in vase painting, 118
  on votive reliefs, 148n29, 193n97
  See also cults; statuary
asemos, 171–174, 203
Ascanius, 233
Asklepios, 16, 51, 127, 135, 153n59, 162n106, 182, 191, 247
  statues of, 247n19
  See also statuary
Atalanta, 233
Athena, 11, 12, 15, 52, 82, 90, 113–117, 128, 131, 146n15, 148n29, 173, 176n20, 177, 183, 186n64, 191, 193n102, 194–195, 202, 227, 231, 236–237, 239, 248, 249
  Aithyia, 186n63
  Alea, 106, 226–229, 228n14, 231–239
  Hippia, 16, 193, 237–238, 239
  Hyperdexia, 220
  Parthenos, 4, 15
  Polias, 4, 81–82, 228, 231, 247n24, 249
  Promachos, 114
  Pronaia, 6
  attributes of, 176n16, 191, 193
  on Panathenaic amphorae, 11, 109–110, 113n31
  palladium in the temple of Vesta, 283, 284, 286
  Trojan Palladion, 10, 16, 115, 117
  in vase painting, 12, 112–116, 186
  on votive relief, 148n29
  winged Athena, 186
  See also cults; statuary
Athenis (sculptor), 216n65
Athens: Acropolis, 4, 11, 89–90, 93, 95, 96n22, 98, 99, 101, 110, 119, 131, 153, 154, 156, 157, 161, 163
  Aglaureion, 163, 168
  Agora, 160, 168
  Anakeion, 154n63
  Archaic Agora, 14, 153n59, 154, 160, 168
  Asklepieion, 96n22, 159
  Parthenon, 105
  Propylaia, 109
  Prytaneion, 154n63, 160, 163

Athens (*continued*)
  Stoa Basileos, 160
  Temple of Athena Nike, 110, 146
  Theatre of Dionysos, 147n26
  Theseion, near the Archaic Agora, 154–155, 159, 163
Attalos II, of Pergamon, 252n46
Attalos III, of Pergamon, 241n1
attributes, 13–15, 173–203
  absence of, or generic, 42, 51, 57, 60, 196–198, 202
  as allegorical, 202
  ambiguous use of, 14, 42, 51, 179–181, 202
  ancient authors on, 177–178
  and anthropomorphism, 174
  Christian usage of, 175
  as defining interrelation between figures, 176, 188–190
  of divinities, 39–42, 116, 174n9, 175, 177, 180–183, 185–198, 201–202, 206
  gesture as, 40, 43, 48
  as gifts, 176–177, 184
  of heroes, 176–178, 183–185
  of humans, 199n133, interchangeability of, 39, 53
  origins of, 176–177
  as part of physique, 183, 185–188
  polyvalent nature of, 13–14, 53, 191–195
  semantic ambivalence of, 175
  semantics of, 14, 51
  as signs of mythical narratives, 182–185
  as symbols of control, 181–182
Auge (priestess of Athena), 231
Augustales, 270
  sacellum of, 269–270
Augustus, 16, 76, 106, 225–228, 230–236, 238, 249–253, 265–267, 274–277, 279, 284–285, 299
  house of, on the Palatine, 279, 280, 283–286
Ayia Irini, on Kea: Late Minoan I "temple", 33, 46
Ayia Triada: Late Minoan IIIa1 shrine, 30, 48
Ayios Konstantinos, on the Methana Peninsula: Late Helladic IIIA–B sanctuary, 35, 47

Berlin Painter, 109
bomos (high altar), 150, 151
boukranion, 40
bretas, 5, 136
breviarium, 296
brotoi, brete, 84
Bupalos (painter), 215

Caligula, 253, 254
Callimachus. *See* Kallimachos
Chaironia, 138
Chania, 25, 40
Cheiron, 191
Chios, 134
chiton, 92, 147, 176n20
Claros. *See* Klaros
Claudius, 247n24
Clement of Alexandria, 83–85, 211
clupeus virtutis, 274
collegium, 277
colossality, of divine images, 10n35, 108, 246, 251
Constantine, 17, 291–292
Constantine VII, 298
Constantinople, 17, 290, 294–295, 298–301
  Forum of Constantine, 292–293
  kynegion, 297
  lauseion, 294, 295n29
  strategeion, 294
corona civica, 279
Crete, Minoan, 21, 41, 43
criticism, literary and aesthetic, in Kallimachos, 216
cults: of Alea, 237, 237n65
  of Aphrodite Epitragia, 196n119
  of Aphrodite Pandemos, 195n116, 195n117

  of Aphrodite Symmachia, 226
  of Apollo on Cyprus, 100n35
  of Artemis, 139
  of Asklepios, 16, 153n58
  of Athena, 96, 99n34, 232
  of Athena on the Acropolis, 90
  of Athena at Tegea, 228, 231, 237, 237n64, 239
  of Augustus (ruler cult), 255n59
  of the Cypriot Great Goddess, 101
  Eleusinian mysteries, 124, 132, 151, 211
  of Eros at Thespiai, 81, 82
  establishment of, 16–17, 282, 284–287
  of Fortuna, 269n53
  of Hermes Perpheraios, 4, 208, 210, 221
  hero cult, 164n114
  hero cult of Archilochos, 220–221
  of the *lares* and the *genius*, 17, 276–277
  of Minerva, 17
  mysteries of the Kabeiroi, 211
  origins of, 208, 210, 231
  of poets, 220–221, 223
  Roman ruler cult, 242–243, 252–255, 267, 270
  partnership, 241, 250–255
  of Theseus, 144, 153, 155n67, 159, 162
  Thesmophoria, 151
  of Vesta, 17, 278, 280–282, 284–286
  worship of sceptre, 138
  of Zeus, 252n45
  of Zeus on the Lykaion, 230
cult images: of Aegean Bronze Age, 21–22, 45–50, 58
  aition of, 210, 221, 224
  aniconic, 210
  archaism of, 105–108
  as artefacts, removed from religious context, 294–295
  as authentication, 16, 234
  attributes of, 206
  bathing and clothing of, 2, 6, 108, 205
  carrying of in processions, 2, 108, 205
  chryselephantine, 12
  danger of, 136, 210, 297
  defined by appearance, 8–10
  defined by position, 6
  defined by ritual activity, 4n13, 7–8, 12, 49, 141
  definition of, 6–12, 126–130
  divine origins of, 107
  in establishing a new cult, 287
  as forms of reward and punishment, 226, 228, 232
  greeting of, 205
  identification of, 12, 146n16
  installation (rituals) of, 8, 17, 126–128, 261, 264n26, 284–287
  lack of, 49
  lacking notion of in antiquity, 4–5, 257
  in literature, 126–130, 205–224
  loss of, 236–237, 239
  material of, 107–108, 228, 229, 268
  as means of communication, 8, 122
  as mediators with the divine, 136–140
  mythological narrative of, 11–12, 43
  non-divine, 6
  numismatic representations of, 210, 242
  placement of, 266–271
  portability of, 48, 229
  as present to deity, 141
  presentation scenes of, 273–287
  as relative category, 238–239
  removal of, 2, 16, 137, 226–228, 230–232, 234
  replacing of, 237
  re-use of in another cult, 17, 237–239

cult images (*continued*)
  Roman imperial, 242–244, 251–255, 266–271
  simplicity of, 108
  size of, 10, 15, 46, 108, 130, 229, 268
  style of, 10, 108–109, 229, 231
  temporary transformation into, 7, 127
  transformation of, 16, 239
  in vase painting, 113–118, 118n50
  See also divine images; *ornamentum*; *simulacrum*; statues; votive images; *xoanon*
cult practice or ritual
  Aegean, 35–37, 41, 43, 49–50, 59
  as function of priest, 140
cult statues: ancient notion of, 5, 257
  ancient terminologies of, 126, 258–261
  modern terminology of, 4–12, 180
  See also divine images; *ornamentum*; *signum*; *simulacrum*; *statua*; statues; *xoana*
Curia Iulia, 299
Curti Painter, 117
Cyclops, 176n20
Cypriot Great Goddess, 98–101
Cyprus, 90, 97, 100, 101, 102

decorum, 291–294, 296–297, 300–301
deities, Minoan and Mycenean:
  Aphetria, 25
  Ares, 25
  Artemis(?), 25, 52
  Bow Goddess, 27
  correspondence to Greek deities, 26
  Despotes, 25
  Dia, 26
  Diktaian Zeus, 27
  Dionysos, 25, 26
  distinguishability of, 26–27, 39–41, 57, 202
  Eleutheia, 25, 27
  Enyalios, 25, 26, 27
  Erinys, 25, 27
  "Goddesses with upraised hands", 33, 44, 46
  "Great Minoan Goddess", 24, 55
  "Great Mother Goddess", 21
  "Great Mycenaean Goddess", 44
  Hera, 26, 52
  Hermes, 25
  Iphimedeia, 25
  in Linear A inscriptions, 27
  in Linear B inscriptions, 25–26, 48
  male deities, 39, 44, 54
  Manasa, 25
  Mater Theia, 25
  Marineus, 25
  "Mother of the mountain ring", 38
  Paion, 25, 26, 27
  Piptuna, 25, 27
  Potnia, 26, 27, 38
  Poseidon, 25, 26, 35, 52
  relationship with Olympian deities, 56–57
  snake goddess, 32, 34, 45
  warrior god, 39
  warrior goddess, 39, 52
  Therasia, 27
  Zeus, 25, 26, 36
Delos, 18, 205
  oikos of the Naxians, 173
Demeter, 52, 146n15, 151, 155, 156n72, 190
  attributes of, 193
  Demeter Melaina in Arcadia, 9, 175, 177n25, 187, 191, 230
  See also statuary
Demetrios Poliorketes (Hellenistic King), 15
demotikon, 158
destruction, of images, 17, 290, 297, 299–300
  See also iconoclasm

Diadoumenos, 144n6
Diagoras, of Melos, 211
Diana, 269n53, 279
Diomedes, 117, 284
Dionysos, 106, 146, 153n59, 156n72, 182, 188, 220
  archaism of, 106, 106n3
  of Ikaria, 108
  Phallen, 210n37
  Thyllophoros, 135
diopete, 229
Dioskouroi, 148n28, 207
  grove of, 76
divine images
  after-life of, 17
  aniconic, 9, 13, 64, 67, 68, 77, 81–82, 84
  archaism of, 105–120
  communication with, 11–12, 122
  as cult statue, 4, 6
  definition of, 13
  as divine gift, 4
  elevating humans, 15
  gender of, 38–41, 55
  helping heroes, 15
  and human imagination, 18
  iconographic study of, 3, 3n9, 3n10, 22, 37–42, 51
  identification or recognition of, 43, 51, 55, 202
  as living gods, 112, 116
  as metaphor for poetry, 222
  nudity of, 2
  perception of, in Byzantine Constantinople, 17, 290–301
  physicality of, 3
  and procession, 7n25, 48, 54
  reinforcing divinity of emperor, 15, 242–243, 253–255
  status of, 257, 270
  style of, 10–11, 231
  as symbols of cultural identity, 17, 290
  as symbols of political relevance, 226–239, 291, 295, 298–299
  terminology of, 4, 259–260, 264
  theriomorphic, 175, 187–188, 200n135
  as topographic reference, 16, 114, 117
  in vase painting, 112–118, 202
  visual construction of, 12–19
  as votive offerings, 4, 6
  See also, cult images; *korai*; *kouroi*; *ornamentum*; *signum*; *simulacrum*; *statua*; statues; theomorphic representations; votive statues; *xoanon*
divinity, of emperors, 15, 242–243
dolphin, as attribute, 184, 189, 191n88, 193
domus publica, 281, 284
Dwarf Painter, 115

effigies, 5, 258, 259
eidola, 187n67
eikon, 5, 67
Eirene, 180–181
  on Panathenaic amphorae, 180, 181.n36
eisiteteria, 163
ekphrasis, 179n28, 198n129, 207, 294
Eleusis, 155, 162n106
  mystery cult of, 124, 132, 151, 211
  Telesterion, 156n72
Endoios (sculptor), 119, 229, 239
Endymion, 187n71
Epeius, 212, 213
ependytes, 151
ephebeia, 162n109, 163, 165, 168
ephebes, 15, 167, 169
Ephesos, 124n16, 138, 219
  Temple of Artemis, 296
epiklesis, 26, 39, 110, 134, 136, 193, 247
epiphany, 49, 50, 56, 134, 136
erastes, 208
Erechtheus, 146
Eretria, 162, 225
Erichthonios, 181

Erinys, 185, 191
Eris, 185
Eros, 81, 183, 185, 188n72, 279
  attributes of, 183
  Thespian Eros, 80–81, 265
  See also cults; statuary
eschara (low altar), 150, 153n59
Eurynome, fish-bodied, 175, 187
Eustathios of Thessalonike, 298
Evander (Arcadian settler on the Palatine), 232, 280
Evans, Arthur, 21, 24
exegesis, 128, 213
exegetes, 179n28
exempla, 300

Fasti Caeretani, 281
Fasti Praenestini, 258
Faustina (Maior), 246
figurines: Cypriot terracotta and limestone, 98, 188n72
  gender of, 32, 34, 35, 98n27
  Minoan bronze, 32
  Minoan terracotta, 31–34, 43
  Mycenaean terracotta, 34–35, 47, 49
  See also votive statues
Fortuna, Primigenia, 269, 269n51, 269n53
Forum Augustum, 106, 232–233, 239
Forum Romanum, 281, 283, 284, 286
funerary monuments, 94–95, 198–199

Gazi, 33, 46
Gela, 184n54
gems, Hellenistic, 189
gender: of Aegean terracotta votives, 32, 34, 35
  of Cretan votary, 32
  in Cypriot votive dedications, 98–100
  of divine figures, 38–41
  in priesthood, 125
  in sacrificial victims, 99
  statistics for funerary monuments, 94
  statistics for honorific portraiture, 96
  statistics from inscriptions, 95–96, 98
  statistics for votive dedications, 95–96, 96n22, 98–100
gere (honorific parts), 135
gnorismata, 15, 156–159, 161, 169
  in scultpure, 157
  in vase painting, 156
Golgoi, 99, 100
  so-called sanctuary of Apollo, 100
Gorgo, 177, 187, 191
gorgoneion, 183, 193, 194, 203, 292
Gournia, 29, 33
Graces, 175, 206
graecitas, 106
grave reliefs, 94–95, 148n29, 165, 191
  of Menophila from Sardis, 198–199, 203
  of Antipatros, 199
  See also, *stelai*; funerary monuments
griffins, 23, 39, 41n106
Gytheion, in Laconia, 79–80, 82

Hades, 155, 156, 175, 196, 196n121, 215
Hadrian, 242n5, 244n12, 247
Halios Geron, 189
harpe, of Perseus, 177
hedos, 5, 236
Hedylogos, 185n56
Hegel, G.W.F., 106
Hekalesia, 154n63
Hekate, 110–111, 193
  Epipyrgidia, 11, 110–111, 110n20
hekateia, 7, 110–111
Helen, 116n39, 143
Hephaistos, 138, 146, 176n18, 181–182, 183n49, 188
  attributes of, 181, 193
  return of, 181

Hera, 195n112, 197, 202
  of Argos, 107
  Hippia, 193
  Samian, 205n5, 206, 224n125
  in vase painting, 197
Heraion, Argive, 105
Heraion, Samian, 116
Herakleios, emperor, 296
Herakles, 14, 15, 132–133, 144n6, 150, 152–153, 156, 162, 173, 176, 177, 182, 184–185, 189, 190–192, 211, 220, 231, 236
  attributes of, 176, 178, 182–185, 191, 192n92
  club of, 51, 173n7, 176n20, 178, 183–185
  lion skin of, 145n14, 178, 183–185, 190
  Ogmios, 178, 179n28, 203
  reliefs dedicated to, 162
  statues of, 182n42, 211
  in vase painting, 182n42, 183
  See also statuary
Hermes, 51, 94, 109–110, 176n20, 177, 181, 192n96, 200n139, 208, 211, 217–219, 210
  Agoraios, 75–78
  as aniconic stone monument, 64, 69n36
  attributes of, 177, 182, 191, 192
  etymology of, 212–213
  divine status of, 221–222
  in iambic poetry, 217–223
  oracle of Hermes Agoraios, 75, 77
  Perpheraios, 4, 208, 210–213, 221–222
  Pronaios, 6
  Propylaios, 11, 110
  as semi-iconic herm, 77, 109–110, 218
  statues of, 212, 213, 218, 219, 221
  See also herms; statuary
Hermias, 184
Hermione, 161
herms, 7, 68, 218
  from Ephesos, 109
  Hermes Agoraios at Pharai, 77
  Pergamon herm, 109
  from Sounion, 68n34
hero reliefs, 144, 146n16, 150, 207
  Laconian, 191
Herod, king, 253
heroes, 162n106, 207, 221, 284
  lack of, in Aegean, 23
  graves of, 185n59
  See also cults: hero cult; hero reliefs
Hersilia (wife of Romulus), 275
Hesiod, 184
Hestia, 196, 197
hidryma, 5
hidrysis, 8, 16–17, 126–130
hiera, 123, 125, 135, 139, 140
hierarchy: of religious spaces, 266–270
  of cult images, 267–270
hiereia. *See* priestess
hiereus. *See* priests
hieron, 128
hieros lithos, 156n72
himation, 92, 147, 166n122
Hipparchos, 110
Hippolytos, 153
Hipponax (iambicist), 214, 215, 217–219
Homeric tradition, in epic poetry, 217
hoplite, 145, 165, 167, 196, 197
hoplitodromoi, 165
Horai, 220
Horkomosion, 14, 159–163, 168–169
horos, 148
Hygieia, 191, 197
  statues of, 173n4, 231
Hypereides, 132
Hypnos, 185, 185n59, 186, 187n71

iambos, 207–208, 210–222
Iasos, 184
iconoclasm, 84, 290, 293, 296n33
idolatry, 83–84
imago, 5, 258, 268n45

inscriptions: on altars, 149n34
  artists' signatures, 253
  on cult partnership, 241n1
  commemorative/honorific, 95–96, 98n31, 137, 157–158
  Cypriot votive, 98
  decree from Lindos, 171–172
  dedicatory/votive, 14, 87, 89, 93–96, 98n31, 145, 148–149, 159, 161, 167, 173, 250, 264
  from Eleusis, 156n72
  funerary, 95, 198–199, 199n135
  gender consideration in, 95–96, 98n31
  Hellenistic ephebic, 154
  legal codes for temple dedication, 262–263
  on Linear A tablets, 27–28, 34
  on Linear B tablets, 21, 25–26, 28, 33, 34, 44, 48, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59
  from Magnesia, 128
  of Mnesiepes, 220–221
  reception of, by ancient viewers, 102–103, 102n42
  related to cult practice, 123, 127, 128
  sacred laws, 133, 135
  and social status, 158–159
  from the Temple of Apollo at Metropolis, 197
  on vase painting, 148n33, 185n56, 194–195, 197
Iolaos, 173
Iris, 185, 192, 192n94
Isiteria, 128
Isityche, 269n53
Isthmia: Temple of Poseidon, 184
  monopteros of Melikertes/Palaimon, 184
Iulia Domna, 247n24
Iulius Proculus, 275
Iunonarium, 269
Iuppiter. *See* Jupiter
iynx, 182, 185
Julius Caesar, 275
  image of, 267
Juno, 261, 269, 269n51, 269n53
Jupiter, 269, 269n51
  Jupiter Aigiochos, 193–194
  statue of, 261

kadiskos, 128
Kairos, 185, 200–201, 295
Kallimachos, 4, 205–213, 215–224, 233
Kallimedes, Athenian archon, 180
kalon, 293
Kalydon, 228, 235
Kalydonian boar, 233
  tusks of, 16, 233–234, 234n51
  hide of, 233–234
kanephoroi, 90, 96
Kannia, 33, 46, 53
kantharos, 176, 181, 188
Karphi, 33
Kassandra, 113–116
  rape of, 16, 113–116
Kastor, 145n14
kathidrysis, 128
Kato Zakros, 29, 36
kerykeion, 51, 177, 182, 192
kibisis, of Perseus, 177
Kimon, 154
kioniskoi, 180
Kirke, 190
kiste, 152n55
kithara, 191, 192n92
Klaros: sanctuary of Apollo, 93–94, 255
Klazomenai, 219
Kleisthenes, 143, 160n97, 162n105
Kleophrades Painter, 109, 114
kline, 190
Knossos, 21, 25, 28, 29, 33, 36, 37, 47, 50
Kolonos Hippios, 155
Kolophon, 255
Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, 298
Koragia, 137
Korai, 89–90, 119
  from the Acropolis, 89, 90–97, 98n30, 101

as *asamoi*, 203
costume of, 92
from Cyprus, 90, 97–101
iconography of, 92–94, 98
interpretations of, as anonymous votaries, specific portraits, or divine, 90–94, 96–97, 99–103
Milesian, 92
Samian, 92, 98
votive, 94, 98–99
See also statues; votive statues
Kore (goddess). *See* Persephone
Korinth, 184, 226, 235
Kos, 132–133, 135, 225
kosmos, 291, 293
Kostantinos Manasses, 298
kouroi, 89, 91, 93, 119
Acropolis, 98
as Apollo, 8n29, 10
as *asamoi*, 203
Cypriot, 100
as Dioskouroi, 8n29
as portrait, 101n40
as priest, 101
as votary, 46, 100
See also statues; votive statues
Kybele, 117, 152, 294
Kybernesia, 154n63
Kydonia, 225
Kypselos, chest of, 114–115

lares, 17, 27, 276
Leimon (son of Tegeates), 132
leitourgia, 137
Leon III Isaurikos, emperor, 296n33
Lesbos, 184
Leto, 18, 197, 279
libation, 150, 151, 166, 167
Lindos, on Rhodes, 171, 203
acropolis, 171
Linear A. *See* inscriptions
Linear B. *See* inscriptions
Linos (music teacher of Herakles), 191
lithoi: *argoi lithoi*, 73, 77, 78, 85
argos lithos in Gytheion, 80
argoi lithoi in Thebes, 78–80
hieros lithos, 156n72
tetragonoi lithoi in Pharai, 73, 76–77
litholatry, 69–73, 83–84
Lithos, in the Athenian Agora, 160–161, 163, 164, 168
See also altars
Lucius Verus, 246
lyra, 191, 192n92
Lysippos (sculptor), 200
See also statuary

maenads, 188
Maeon, of Thebes, 79
Magna Mater, 280
temple of, on the Palatine, 280
Magnesia, on the Maeander, 128, 129
Maia, 197, 268n45
Mallia, 29, 47
Manthourea, 16, 237–238
Mantineia, in Arcadia, 137, 140, 225–228
Manuel I Komnenos, 299
Marathon, battle of, 165, 166n126
Marcus Aurelius, 246
Maria, Virgin, as victory goddess, 296
Mars Ultor, 239
Marseille, 138–139
Marsyas, 191
material, of divine images, 9, 107, 108, 218, 228, 229, 268
Maurikios, emperor 296
Medusa, 15
Megakles, 131
Megalopolis, 188n74
Megara, 186n63
megaron, 151
Melanippos, grave of, 79
Melikertes/Palaimon, 184
Menelaos, 116n39
Menophila, daughter of Hermagenes from Sardis, 198–199, 203
Mes Askenos, 174
Messenia, 52

Meter, Mother of the Gods, 250–251
Michael I, emperor, 297
mimesis, 68–69
  between human and god, 130–134, 140
Mimnes, painter, 216n64
Minerva, 269
Minotaur, 143
mirabilia, 296, 298
Mnemosyne, 220
Mnesiepes, 220–221
monotheism, 42
monumenta, 297, 300
moschophoros, 93–94
mound, on relief sculpture, 149–150, 152–154, 158, 162, 166n124
  as altar, 150–155, 168
  as or evoking shield, 165–168
  as stone, 155–161, 168
  in vase painting, 149
  See also Horkomosion
Mummius, Roman general, 226, 235, 264n27, 265
Muses, 192, 220
  image of, 292
musical instruments, as attributes, 191–192
Mycenae, 25
  Late Helladic IIIB "cult centre", 30, 34, 46, 50n151, 53, 55
  "Tsountas House Shrine", 37

narrative: in Aegean images, 22
  and divine images, 12
  first-person, in iambic poetry, 209, 213–217
naturalism, 68, 69
Nemean lion, 173n7
  skin of (*see* Herakles: lion skin of)
Neoptoloemos, 114
Nereids, 189
Nereus, 189
Nike, 175, 185, 192, 296
Niketas Choniates, Byzantine Greek historian, 299
Nikias, painter, 300
Nikippa, of Mantineia, 137, 140
Nikopolis, 228
Niobids, 187
Nobilior, F., 192
nudity: of divine images, 2, 173n4
  heroic, 15n44
  of statues, 100, 205n5
Nymphs, 152–153, 158n87, 177, 220

Octavian, 225–227, 255
Odysseus, 117, 189–190, 202, 301
Oedipus, children of, 79
oikoumene, 295, 301
Olympia, 252
  Temple of Augustus (Metroon), 250–253
  Temple of Zeus, 249
Omphale, Lydian queen, 184
omphalos, 149n38, 151, 156, 164n114, 295
Orestes, 80, 117, 127
origins, of attributes, 176–177
  of cult, 208, 210
  of cult statue, 107, 206, 233
  See also aition, of cult images
ornamenta aedium, 257, 260, 261, 266
ornamentum, 5, 232, 258, 260, 261–264, 266, 270, 271, 291, 296
  portability of, 263
  sacred and profane status of, 264–265, 270–271
Orpheus, 191
Oschophoria, 154n63
osphys, 151

paideia, 17, 289, 296
Paieon, 26
Palatine, 232
  establishment of Vesta cult, 284–286
  house of Augustus, 279, 280, 283–286
  religious topography of, 280, 280n29
  Temple of Apollo, 17, 279, 282

  Temple of Magna Mater, 280
  Temple of Vesta, existence of, 281–283
Pan, 152–153, 183, 187
  images of, 175, 207
Panea, 192n92
Panathenaic amphorae, 11, 109, 110, 113n31, 151, 180, 181n36
Pandio, 186n63
Pankrates, 152
  sanctuary of, 153
Parastaseis, 296
Paris, judgement of, 14, 196, 202, 203
Parmeniskos, from Metapontum, 18
Paros, 219, 221
  sanctuary of Archilochos 220
partnership, of cult, 241, 250–254
Patrai, 131, 228, 235
patronymikon, 158, 159n90
Peirithoos, 156, 160
Peisistratos, 131, 143, 192n92
Pellene, 130, 136
  sacred grove of Artemis Soteira, 136
  Temple of Artemis, 136
  Temple of Athena, 136
penates, 275–276
Pentelic marble, 2
Pentelikon, 153
peplos, 92, 114, 137
perception, of Classical images in post antiquity, 290–301
Pergamon, 231, 238, 242
  sanctuary of Demeter, 244n12
  Temple of Hera Basileia, 252n46
  Temple of Zeus on the Acropolis, 242, 244n12
periboloi, 95n21
Perikles, 158
Persephone/Kore, 52, 137, 140, 146n15, 151, 156, 193, 196n121
Perseus, 15, 177, 186n61
  attributes of, 177, 184
  iconography of, 177n23
  in vase painting, 177
petasos, of Perseus, 177
Phaistos, 47
Phalanthos, founder of Taras, 184
Pharai, Achaian, 73–78, 81, 82
  agora, 76
Pheidias, sculptor, 10, 289, 292
  See also statuary
Pheneos, 236
Philippikos Bardanes, emperor, 297
Phokaia, 138
Phryne, 132
Phye, 131
Pieros, river, 76
pilos, 32, 145
  of Odysseus, 189, 190
Piraeus, 155
Plataia: battle of, 166
  oath of, 166, 167
Ploutos child, 52, 175, 180
pluralism, of Minoan and Mycenaean religion, 28
Polion, vase painter, 117
polos, 33
Polygnotos, group of, 116, 117
polytheism, 122, 141, 271
  in Aegean Bronze Age, 21, 24–45, 50, 58, 59
polyvalence: of religious symbols, 36, 57
  of attributes, 53, 191–195
Pompeius Magnus, Cnaeus, 255
pontifex maximus, 281, 284, 285
Portico Octavia, 261, 264, 265
portraiture, Greek honorific, 96, 98n31
portraiture, imperial, 243–244, 246–248, 250–253
  artist's signature on, 253
  dedication in temples, 266–271
  differentiation from images of gods, 253, 267, 268
  divergence from portrait types, 246–248
  imperial likeness of, 246–247, 252n47
  installation in temples to other divinities, 242–255, 265–269

portraiture, imperial (*continued*)
    See also cult images: Roman imperial; theomorphic representations, of emperors
Poseidippos, 200, 203, 223
Poseidon, 51, 128, 182, 188–190, 194–196, 202
    Asphaleios, 220
    Hippios, 193, 202
    Isthmios, 195
    See also statuary
position, of divine images, 6–7
    of votive statues, 97
    See also hierarchy: of cult images; cult images: placement of
Pothos, 185
Potnia, 25–26, 28, 44
    Aswija, 26
    Athana, 26
    Hippeia, 26
    Labyrinthoio, 26
    Sito, 26, 52
    Theron, 185n55
Praxiteles, sculptor, 2, 132
Priamos, 114
Priene, 248–250
priestesses: in Aegean Bronze Age, 49
    of Artemis (Euripides), 127
    of Artemis at Ephesos, 139
    of Artemis at Patrai, 131
    of Artemis at Sparta, 137
    of Artemis at Tegea, 132, 231
    of Athena, 130, 136
    of Cretan Wind deities, 26
    of Dionysos Thyllophoros, 135
    of Hilaeira and Phoibe, 105
    in vase painting, 113, 194n109, 197, 202
    of Vesta, 284
priesthood, Greek
    gender of, 125
    as mediator, 124–125, 130, 134–139
    nature of, 121–124
    in literature, 130–133, 134
    relation with cult statues, 136–139
priests: of Apollo, 93
    of Artemis, 93
    of Asklepios, 127, 135
    Christian, 124n22
    of Cypriot Great Goddess, 101
    of Dionysos, 135
    garments of, 49, 133–134, 147
    of Herakles on Kos, 132–133
    of Kore, 137
    Minoan, 48
    of the Muses, 223
    of Theseus, 147n26
    on votive reliefs, 147, 150
Protestantism, 85
Ptolemies, 223
    gymnasium of, in Athens, 154
Pyanopsia, 154n63
Pylos, 25, 26, 52

ratio, 291
relief sculpture, Roman, 273–280, 282–287
religiosity, in Minoan and Mycenaean art, 22
repetition, of ritual, 7
ritual, as defining cult images, 7–8, 49, 130
    space of, in palatial Crete, 29
Romulus, 275, 279
ruler image, 241, 244, 252–254
    See also portraiture, imperial; theomorphic representations; cult images: Roman imperial
Rusticus, M. Antonius, 250

Sabouroff Painter, 197
sacrifice, 121, 121n3, 125, 134, 135, 137, 140, 150n44, 160, 163n111, 164, 236
    calendar from Kos, 164
    calendar from Thorikos, 159n92
    as communication with the divine, 134–135

Salamis, 119
  sanctuary at, 98, 100
sanctuaries: of Apollo at Golgoi, 99, 100
  of Apollo at Klaros, 93–94
  of Apollo Karneios on Thera, 149
  of Apollo at Lefkoniko, 99n33
  of Apollo Lykeios in Argos, 94n17
  at Arkalochori (cave), 36
  of Artemis at Pellene, 136
  of Athena at Alalkomenai, 236
  at Ayios Konstatinos, 35, 47
  Cretan, 31
  Cypriot, 99n33, 100
  of Hekate at Aigina, 110
  of Hermes at Tanagra, 94n17
  housing other divinities, 33
  at Kannia (complex), 46
  of the *lares* on the Velia, 275–276
  of Nemesis at Rhamnous, 89n8
  of Pankrates, 153
  of Petsophas (peak), 47
  at Phylakopi, 35
  on Traostalos (peak), 31
  of Vesta, 280, 285, 286, 287
Sardis, 244–245, 247
  Temple of Artemis, 244–248
Sariolenus, Lucius, 269
satyrs, 188
sceptre, 192n96, 202
  of Eirene, 180, 181
  of Hera, 197
  of priests and priestesses, 197n123
  worship of, 138
  of Zeus, 138, 176n16
schema, 131–132
seal images, 40, 42, 50
  from Delos, 188n72
  from Knossos, 37
semeia, 129, 130
Semonides, iambicist, 214
Septimius Severus, 247
sharing, of temples, 241–243
shield, 165, 186n64, 217
  of Perseus, 177
  relation with altar, 166n124
  ritual uses of, 166–168
  in vase painting, 164–166, 169
shrines, Minoan and Mycenaean, 28–31
  at Gazi, 46
signum, 5, 258, 259, 264, 284, 287, 291
simulacra deorum, 257, 259, 260, 266
simulacrum, 5, 258–260, 270
Sirens, 186
Sisyphos, 187
size, of cult or divine images, 10, 107–108, 229, 268
Skiron, 155n70, 160
Skopas, sculptor, 196n119, 229
  See also statuary
Skylla, 189
skyphos, 111
Sokrates, 70–71, 73
Solon, 195n116
Sosippos, son of Nauarchides, dedicator of the Theseus relief, 147–149, 158, 161, 162, 167
Sparta, 105, 215, 225
speaking, of statues, 212–214, 217, 218
spear, 138, 217
Spes, 269n53
sphinxes, 23, 186
sphyrelaton, 108
statua, 5, 258, 260, 264
statuary: "Kouros from Palaikastro", 45–46
  "snake goddesses" from Knossos, 32, 45
  agalma for Artemis dedicated by Phileratis, 207
  Amphitrite in the Forum of Constantine, 289n4, 299
  Antoninine acrolithic portraits in the Temple of Artemis at Sardis, 245–247, 245n16

statary *(continued)*
- Antoninus Pius, Diana, Apollo, Isityche, Spes, and Minerva in the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, 269
- Aphrodite on Delos, 205
- Aphrodite (chryselephantine) in Elis by Pheidias, 177
- Aphrodite in Elis by Skopas, 196n119
- Aphrodite in Knidos by Praxiteles, 132, 292n15, 294–295
- Apollon at Amyklai, 108, 197
- Apollon on Delos with Graces, 206
- Apollon on Delos by Tektaios and Angelion (*sphyrelaton*), 108
- Apollon in Delphi (colossal bronze), 119
- Apollon (bronze) in Metropolis, 197, 202, 203
- Apollon in Miletus, 205n5
- Apollon Patroos on the Athenian Agora, 202
- Apollon by Skopas (Palatine), 17, 279n26
- Artemis in Athienou-Malloura, 97n24
- Artemis Brauronia in Athens, 231
- Artemis (*xoanon*) in Ikaros, 83
- Artemis in Leukadia, 205n5, 206
- Artemis Orthia in Sparta and Messene, 108, 228
- Artemis by Timotheos (Palatine), 17, 279n26
- Asklepios by Skopas in Tegea, 229, 231
- Athena Alea in Tegea by Endoios, 10, 16, 106, 119, 226–235, 239
- Athena in Alipheira, 230
- Athena in Arcadia with bandaged thigh, 206n5
- Athena (chryselephantine) in Elis by Pheidias, 178
- Athena in the Forum of Constantine, 289, 292, 299
- Athena Hippia from Manthourea, 16, 237, 239
- Athena Lindia of Dipoinos and Skyllis, 294
- Athena in Lindos by Danaos, 205n5
- Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, 12, 289n1
- Athena Polias, 228, 231
- Athena Pronaia in Thebes, 6
- Athena-Marsyas Group by Myron, 11
- Attalos II (or I) in Pergamon, 252n46
- Augustus as Zeus in Caesarea Maritima, 253
- Augustus as Zeus in the Olympian Metroon, 251–252
- Berenike set up with the Graces, 207
- Biton in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios at Argos, 94
- Bull (bronze) of Phalaris, 205n5
- Caryatids of the Erechtheion, 111
- Claudius in the Olympian Metroon by Philathenaios, Hegias, and Primos, 252–253
- Colossal of the Naxians on Delos, 119n56, 173
- Constantine as Helios in the Forum of Constantine, 292
- cult statue group (acrolithic) in the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura by Damophon, 11, 12, 230
- Demeter Melaina, horse-headed, in Phigaleia, 175, 187, 191, 191n88, 202, 230
- Diana in Sicily, 259
- Dionysos in Ikaria, 108
- Divus Augustus dedicated by Tiberius and Livia near Theater of Marcellus, 258
- Divus Vespasianus, Divus Titus, and the equestrian statue of Nerva in the *sacellum* of the *Augustales*, 270

Eirene and Ploutos by Kephisodotos, 180–181
Eros in Myndos by Lysippos, 295
Eros in Thespiai by Praxiteles, 265
Eurynome, fish-bodied, in Phigaleia, 175, 187
Euthykles, bronze statue of Olympian winner, 205n5
Euthymos, Lokrian athlete, 205n5
Flavian portrait from Ephesos, 244
Graces on Paros, 205n5, 206
Hekate by Alkamenes, 109, 110
Hera of Argos (Archaic cult image), 107
Hera of Argos by Polykleitos, 253
Hera on Samos by Athenis and Boupalos, 295
Herakles on East Pediment of Temple of Aphaia at Aigina, 182n42
Herakles by Lysippos, 298
Herakles and the Muses from Ambrakia, 192, 192n93
Hermes Agoraios in Pharai, 75–78
Hermes by Alkamenes, 109
Hermes in Tanagra by Kalamis, 94
Hermes Perpheraios in Ainos by Epeius, 4, 208, 212
Hermes Pronaios in Thebes, 6
Hermes Propylaios by Alkamenes, 11, 110
Hermes with Child Dionysos by Praxiteles, 181
Hygieia by Skopas in Tegea, 229, 231
Ikaros flying in Constantinople, 301
Julio-Claudian portraits from the Temple of Athena Polias and Augustus at Priene, 248–250
Kairos by Lysippos, 200–201, 295
kore and *kouros* dedicated by Timonax at Klaros, 93
Leto (wooden statue) on Delos, 18
Leto by Kephisodotos (Palatine), 17, 279n26
Maximianos, Theodosios, Zeno, Justinian I in Constantinople, 296
Muses (bronze) by Praxiteles at the Temple of Felicitas, 265
Nemesis in Rhamnous, 12
Pan dedicated to Aphrodite, 207
Poseidon on the agora of Elis, 6
Propylaia kore (Acr. 688), 92
Roma in Caesarea Maritima, 253
Rooster (bronze) dedicated to Dioskouroi, 207
Samian Hera, ancient wooden image, 205n5, 224n125
Samian Hera by Scelmis, 205n5
Samian Hera with vine and lions' skin, 205n5, 206
Septimius Severus from the Athenian Agora, 247
Seven wonders of Constantinople, 298
"strangled" Artemis in Arcadia, 206n5
Theagenes, athlete in Thasos, 5, 297
Theseus lifting stone on the Acropolis, 156–157
Thetis in the Forum of Constantine, 292
Titus and Flavian female in Olympia, 250
Trojan Horse by Epeius, 212
Tyche (bronze) in Constantinople, 294, 297
Venus (bronze) by Praxiteles in the Temple of Felicitas, 265
Venus in the Temple of Mars Ultor, 233
Zeus (lifesize marble) from Aigion, 194, 203

statuary (*continued*)
  Zeus in Olympia by Pheidias, 10, 12, 208, 213, 216, 222, 253, 295
  Zeus Philios in Megalopolis by Polykleitos, 188, 198, 203
statues: allegorical interpretation of, 213–224
  anepigraphoi, 172–173
  asamoi, 171–173, 203
  attacking of, 219
  bases of, 172
  colossality of, 10n35, 108, 246, 251
  confusion or identification with actual divinities, 113, 117–118, 211
  defining social identity, 291–292, 297
  description in texts, 205–224
  divine status of, 222
  gender of, 32, 34, 35, 94–96, 98–100
  magical power of, 294, 296–297
  material of, 9, 108, 218, 228, 229, 268
  materiality of, 141
  nudity of, 2, 205n5
  origins (and peculiarities of), 107, 206
  production of, 206
  reception of, 290–301
  representations of, in vase painting, 112–118
  size of, 10, 15, 46, 108, 130, 207, 229, 268
  speaking of, 209, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218
  suffering of, 4
  terminology of, 257–261
  use of, in literature, 173n3, 205–224
  zoomorphic, 9
  See also agalma; cult images; divine images; inscriptions; *korai*; *kouroi*; *ornamentum*; portraiture; *signum*; *simulacrum*; *statua*; votive statues; *xoanon*
stelai, 63
  Classical funerary *stelai*, 94–95, 148n29, 165, 198–199
  See also aniconism; grave reliefs
stephane, 197
stephanophoros, 198
style: archaistic, 10, 90, 106, 109, 111, 229, 230
  iconography of, in divine images, 10–11
Sulla, 235, 236
supellex (sacred furniture), 262
Sybilla, 275, 280
symposion, 190
synnaos, 5, 33, 241–242, 245, 247, 255
synnaos theos, 241, 247n24
synoecism. *See synoikismos*
synoikismos, 228, 238

Taras, 184
Ta-wrt demons, 23, 39, 41n106
techne, 295, 300
Tegea, 16, 106, 132, 225–233, 235–239
  Temple of Athena Alea, 16, 190, 229, 230, 233–234, 237–238
  chora of, 238
Teiresias, cenotaph of, 79
Telemachos, stele of, 16, 153n58
Telephos, 190
Telesias, Athenian citizen from Troizen, 157
  relief of, 157
temples: of Aphaia on Aigina, 182n42
  of Apollo Palatinus, 17, 279, 282
  of Apollo Sosianus, 106
  of Apollon on Delos, 108
  of Apollon Patroos on the Athenian Agora, 247, 247n24
  of Apollon Pythios in Pheneos, 236

  of Artemis in Sardis, 244–248, 245n13
  of Athena Alea in Tegea, 16, 190, 229, 233–234, 237–238
  of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis, 110, 146
  of Athena Polias and Augustus in Priene, 248–250
  of Augustus (former Metroon) in Olympia, 250–253
  of Despoina in Lykosoura, 230, 249
  of Felicitas dedicated by Lucullus, 264
  of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina, 269
  of Hera Basileia in Pergamon, 252n46
  of Herakles in Kleonai, 249
  Jupiter Liber in Furfo, 262
  of Jupiter Stator in the portico of Octavius, 261, 264
  Late Minoan I "temple" at Ayia Irini on Kea, 33, 46
  of Magna Mater on the Palatine, 280
  of Minerva on the Aventine, 277
  Pantheon by Agrippa, 267
  Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis, 105
  of Poseidon at Isthmia, 184
  Theseion near the Archaic Agora, 154–155, 159, 163
  of Vesta in the *forum romanum*, 281–285
  of Zeus in Olympia, 249
  of Zeus on the Pergamene Acropolis, 242
Thanatos, 185–186
Thebes, 25, 78–79, 82
Themis, 153n59
Theodosios, emperor, 294–295
theomorphic representations, of emperors, 194n107, 247n23, 251–253
Theophilos, emperor, 296n32
theophoria, 48
theoxenia, 141
Thera, 149n34
theriomorphism, 175, 187–188
  and tree worship, 66
Theseia (festival), 146n18, 154, 162
Theseia (temples), in Athens, 154–155
Theseion. *See* Athens: Theseion
Theseus, 14–15, 143–169, 195
  bones of, 154
  club of, 145n14, 146, 166n122
  connection to Athens or Attica, 162
  connection to *ephebeia*, 163
  on honorary decree, 157
  iconography of, 143n2, 145
  statue of, on the Athenian Acropolis, 156–157
  in vase painting, 143, 147, 156
  on votive reliefs, 144–149, 155, 161–162, 164–165
  in wall painting, 143, 154
  See also cults: of Theseus
Thesmophoria, 151
Thespiai, 80–82
Thetis, 189
  See also statuary
thiasos, 159n90
  marine, 184, 188n73
  Dionysian, 188, 188n73
thyrsos, 181, 188
thysia, 151, 153n59. *See also* sacrifice
Tiberius, 242, 261, 268n45
Timonax (priest of Apollo and Artemis), 93
togatus capite velato, 273, 276
tomia, 160
totemism, 66
Trajan, 242, 244n12
transvestitism, 185
trianomina, 158
trident, 51, 189–190
Triptolemos, 190
Triton(s), 189
Troizen (birth place of Theseus), 155n70, 156, 157
Trojan horse, 212, 217

Tyche, of Antiocheia, 203
Tydeus, of Thebes, 79, 145n14
Tyrgaios, in Aristophanes' Peace, 126
Tzetzes, Johannes, grammarian, 298

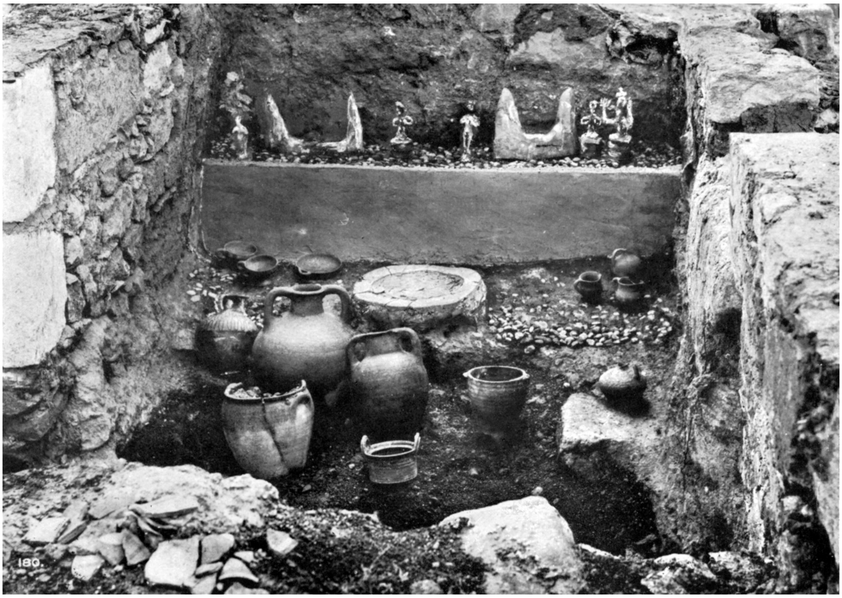
Valerii Flacci, 255
Vari, cult place of Pan, 153
vase painting, 12, 112–118, 151, 156, 164–166, 185–187, 189–190, 193, 194, 197
Verres, 265
Vesta, 278, 280, 282, 283, 285–287
  See also cults: of Vesta
vestals, 278, 283–285
Victory, 274, 280, 296
Villa Giulia Painter, 197
Virgin Mary Hodegetria, painted icon by Lucas, 7
virtus, 291, 296
votive clay limbs, 31, 47
votive reliefs, 87, 88, 144–148, 150–155, 158–159, 161–169, 193n97
votive statues: Aegean figurines, 31–32, 35
  definition of, 87
  difference from cult statues, 88, 257
  distinction between Archaic and Classical, 89, 96
  as divine representations, 34, 101
  gender of, 32, 34, 35, 94, 99–100, 102
  iconography of, 100
  inscriptions on, 87, 88–89, 98n31, 100, 102–103
  meaning and symbolism of, 89–90, 96–97, 99–101
  Mycenaean large-scale clay statues, 34
  position of, 87
  as votaries, 32, 34, 43, 99–101
  See also agalma; cult images; divine images; statues

wall painting
  "cult centre" at Mycenae, 30, 52
  Mycenaean, 48
  in Stoa Poikile, 165
  in the Theseion at Athens, 143, 154
  Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera, 42
Winckelmann, J.J., 63–64, 85
women. *See* gender

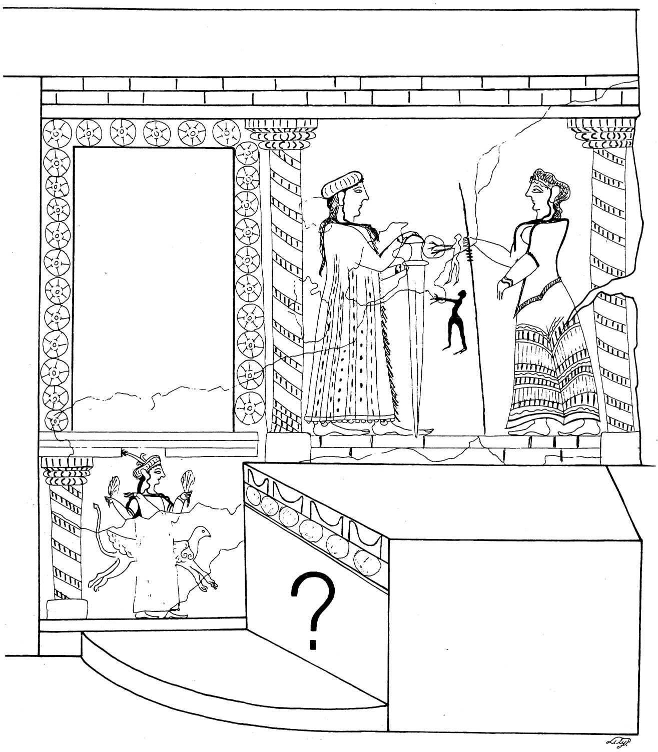
xoanon, 5, 10n38, 46, 47, 48, 84, 107, 210, 216, 223, 224, 229
  of Artemis, 128, 137, 139
  of Herakles, 211
  of Hermes, 222
  of Samian Hera, 224n125
  See also aniconism; cult images; statuary; statues
xyla, 71

Zeus, 3n10, 80, 138, 182, 188, 189n78, 194, 197, 202, 247
  attributes of, 193, 196n121, 247, 251
  Aigiochos, 194
  Cretan, 52
  Diktaian, 46
  Epiphanes, 254
  as golden eagles, 230
  Hyperdexios, 220
  Kappotas, 80
  Kretagenes, 41, 52
  Ktesios, 128–130
  Meilichios, 152, 153, 162n106
  in Olympia, 10, 107
  Pais, 194
  Philios, 162n106, 188, 242
  Sabazios, 117
  as sceptre, 138

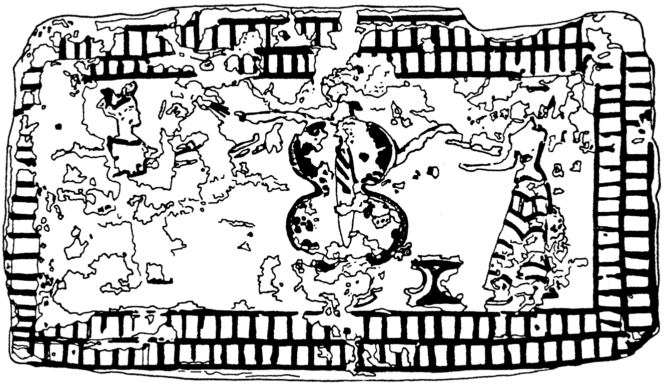
FIGURES



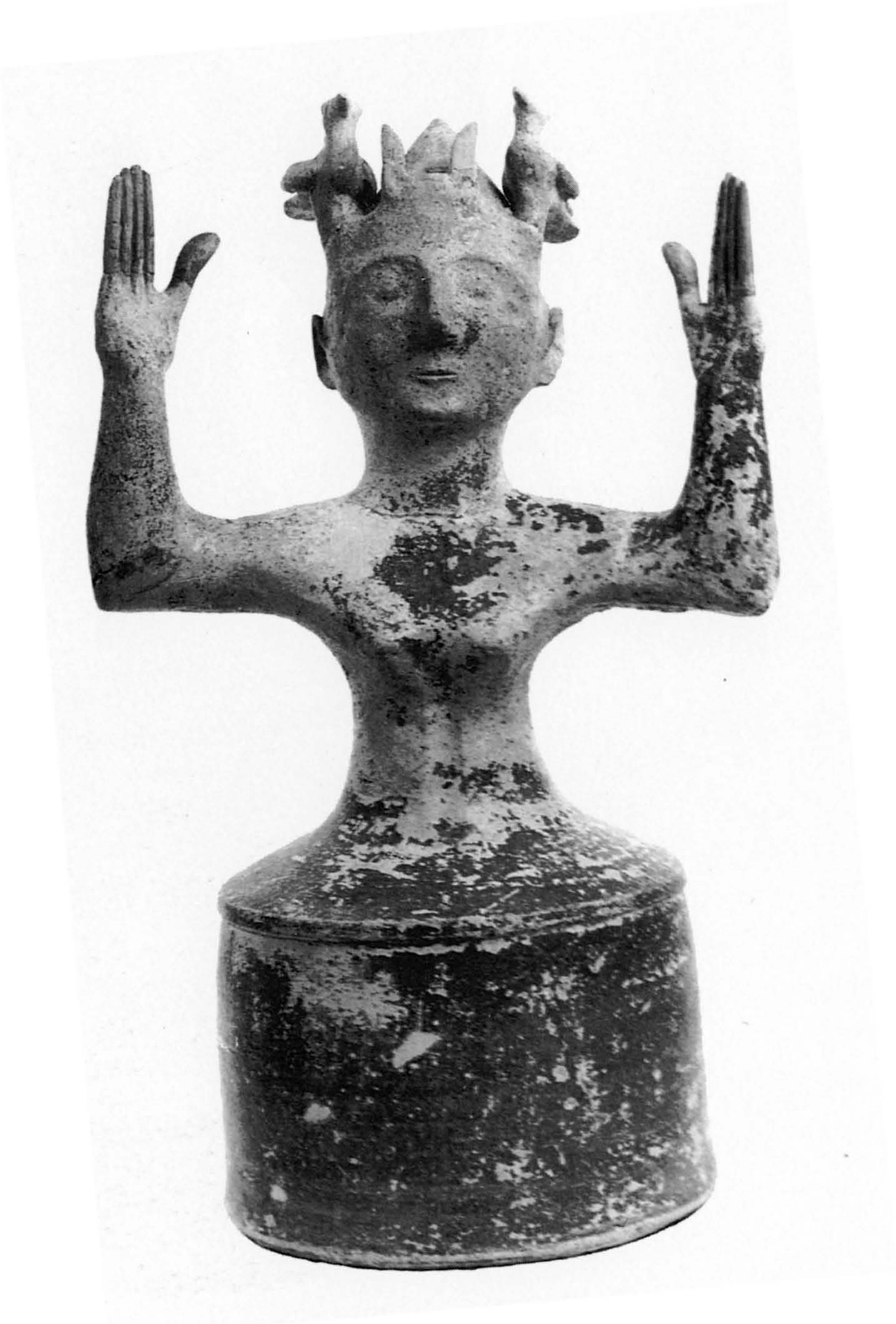
1. “Shrine of the double axes” in the palace of Knossos, after: Evans 1928, 337 fig. 189



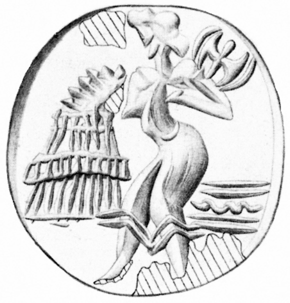
2. Wall paintings in the “House with the fresco complex” at Mycenae (drawing by L. Papageorgiou), after: Marinatos 1988, 251 fig. 3



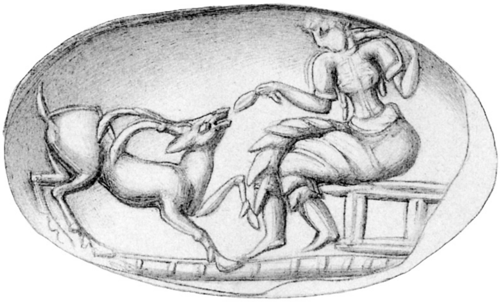
3. Painted plaque from the “Tsountas house” at Mycenae (drawing), after: Rehak 1999, pl. 46a



4. Terracotta statue from Gazi, so-called Goddess with upraised arms, after: Rethemiotakis 1998, pl. 40



5. Seal from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 8



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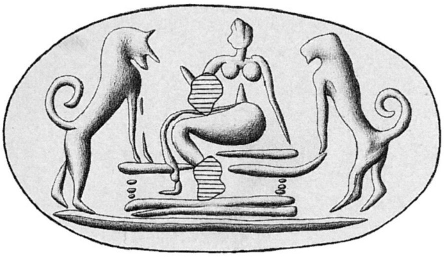

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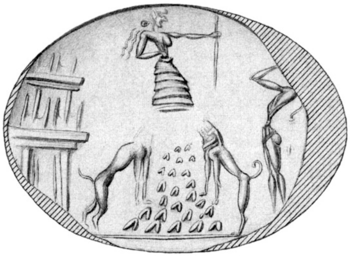

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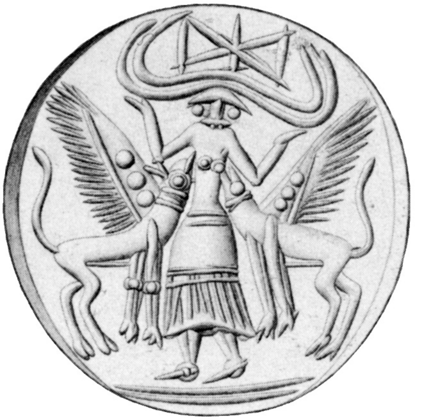

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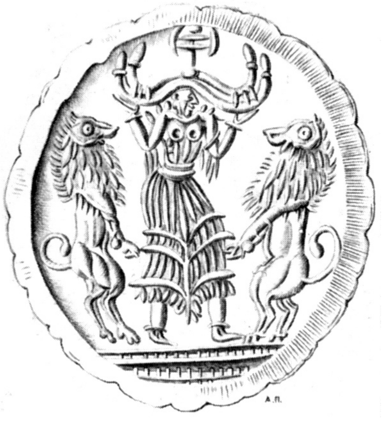

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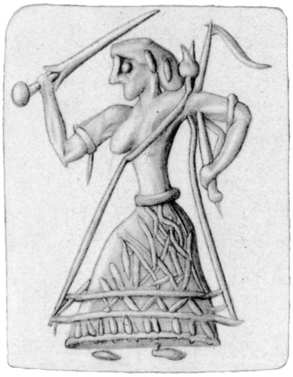

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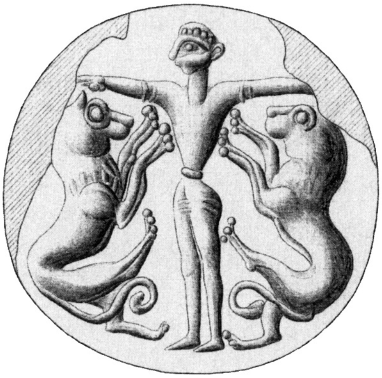

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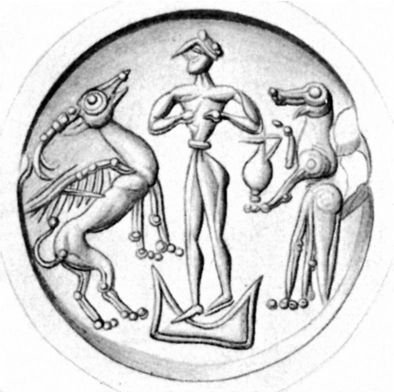
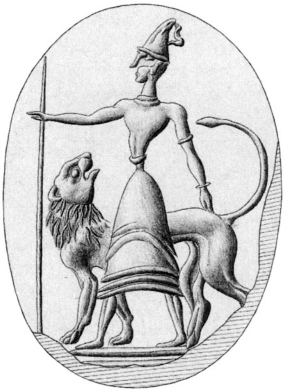
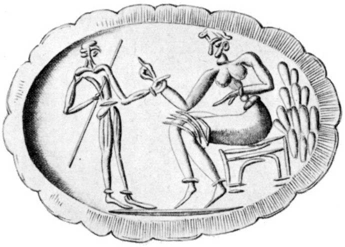


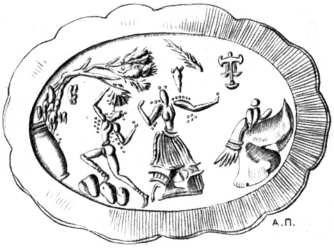
13. Seal in the Benaki Museum, Athens (drawing), after: *CMS* V no. 201



14. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 237



15. Signet ring from Mycenae (drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 101



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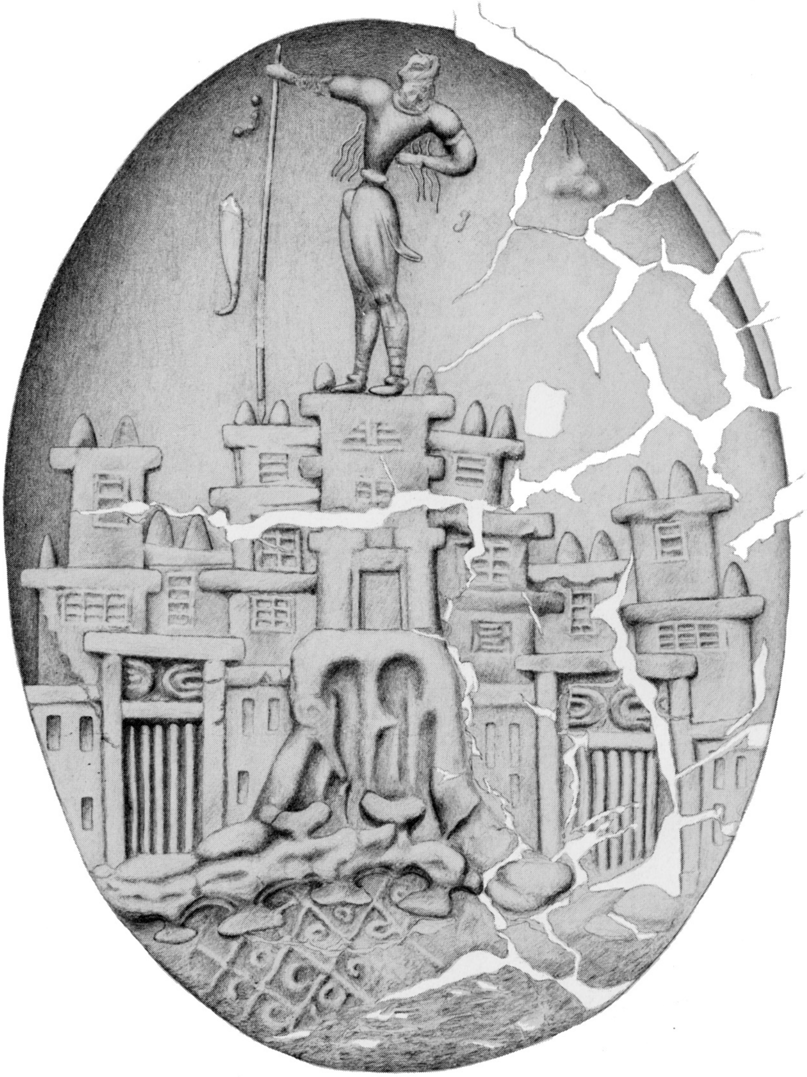
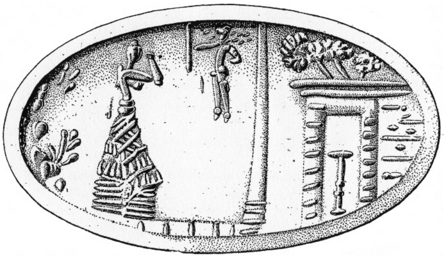
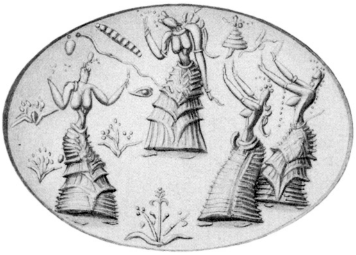


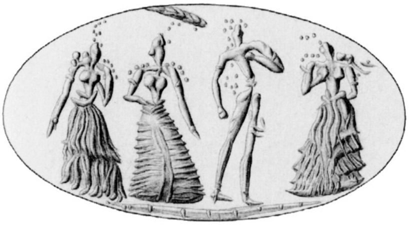
17. The "Master impression" from Chania (drawing), after: Hallager 1985, 50 fig. 11



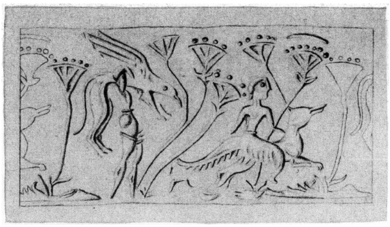
18. Signet ring from Knossos (drawing), after: Evans 1921, 160 fig. 115



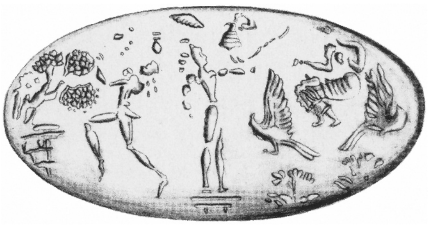
19. Signet ring from Isopata (drawing), after: *CMS* II 3 no. 51



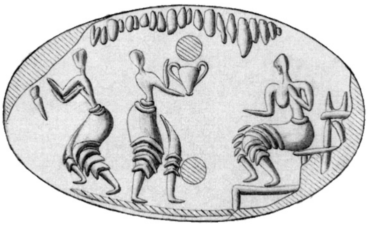
20. Signet ring from Kalapodi (drawing), after: *CMS* V Suppl. 3 no. 68



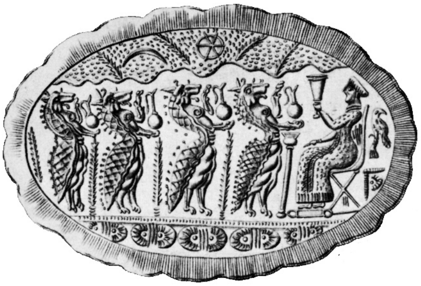
21. Cylinder seal from Ayia Pelayia (drawing), after: Gill 1961, pl. 4 fig. 1



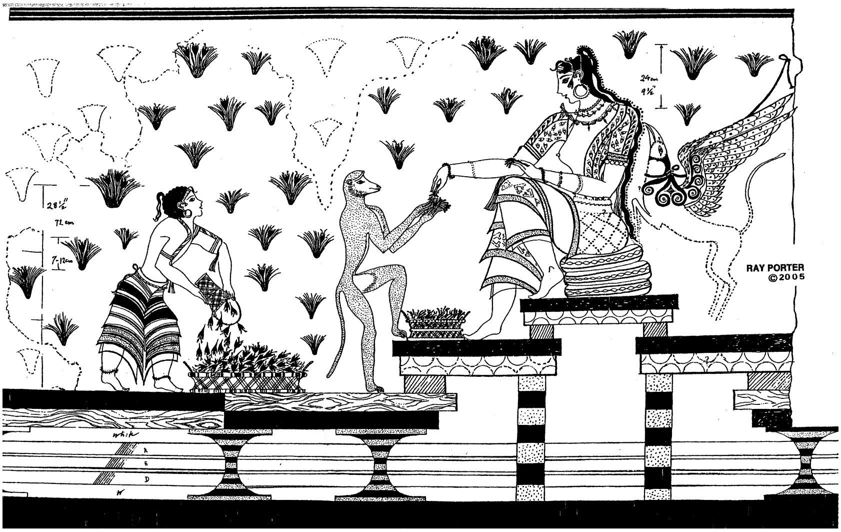
22. The so-called Sacred-conversation-ring from Poros (drawing), after: Dimopoulou – Rethemiotakis 2000, 43 fig. 4c



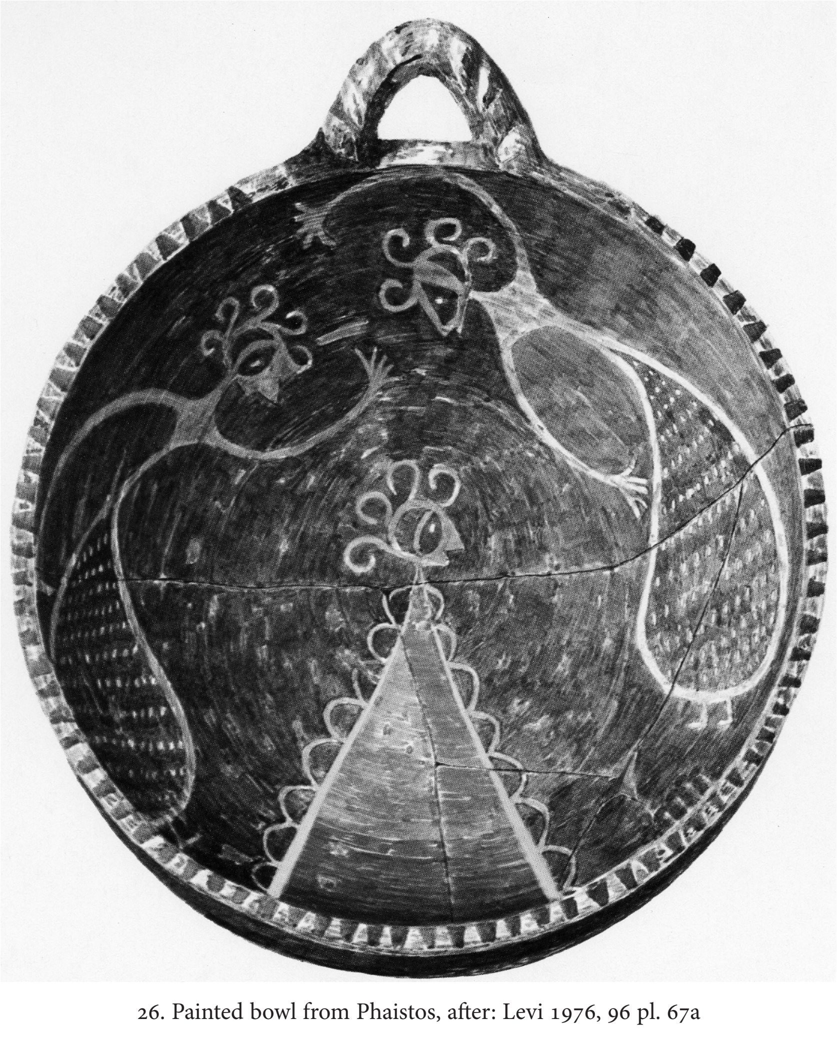
23. Seal impression from Knossos (drawing), after: *CMS* II 8 no. 268



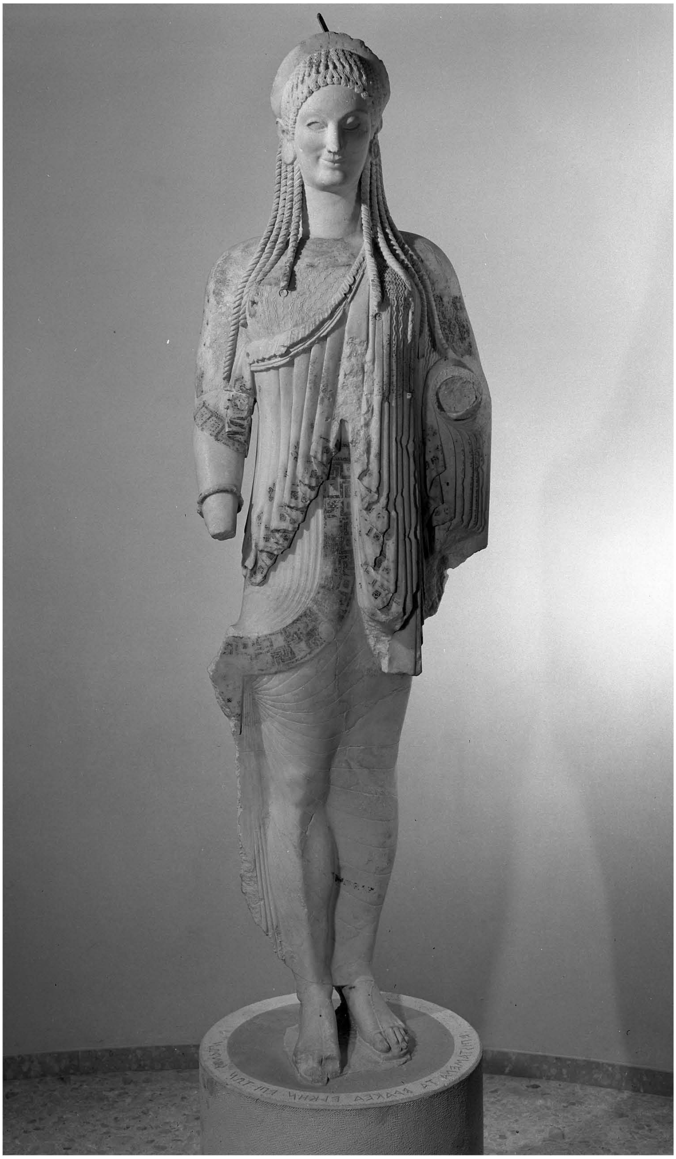
24. Signet ring from
the "Treasure of Tiryns"
(drawing), after: *CMS* I no. 179


28½"
72 cm
7-12cm
24cm
9½"
RAY PORTER
©2005
white
R
E
D
W

25. Wall painting in Xeste 3 in Akrotiri, Thera (drawing by Ray Porter), after: Betancourt 2007, 125 fig. 6.15



26. Painted bowl from Phaistos, after: Levi 1976, 96 pl. 67a



27. Kore statue from the Athenian Acropolis (Acr. 682)
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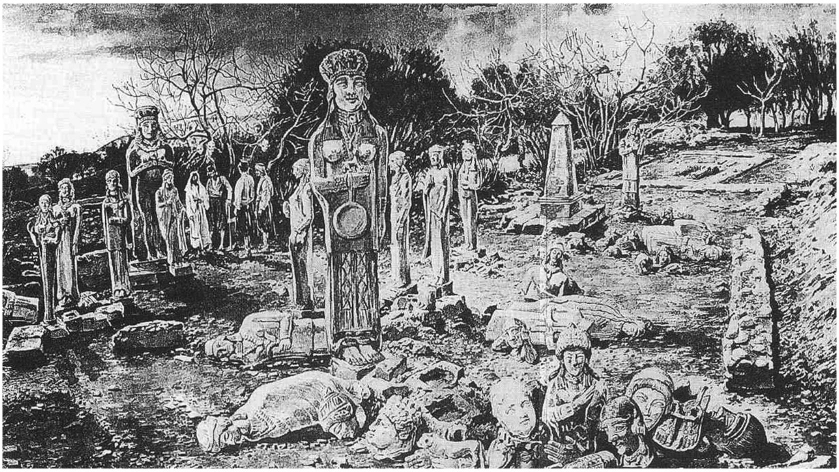
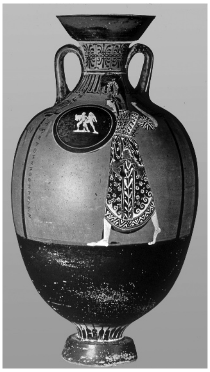
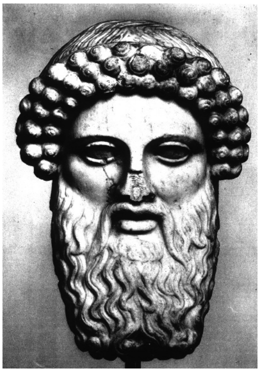


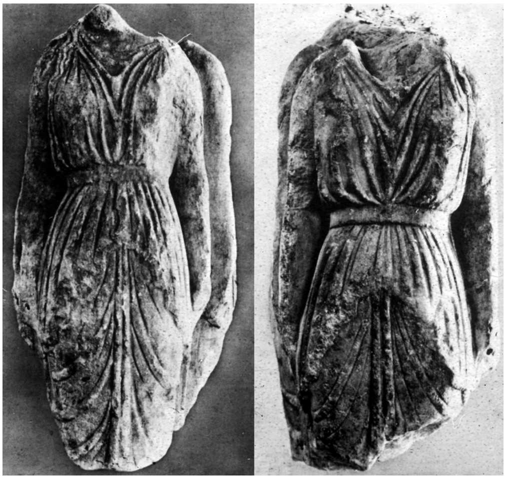
28. The sanctuary of the Great Goddess at Idalion, Cyprus, showing votive kore statues reportedly found *in situ* (drawing by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter), after: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. LVI



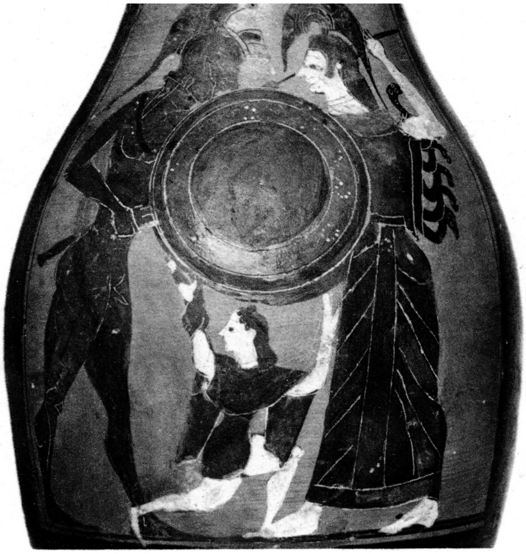
29. Panathenaic amphora, London, The British Museum B 605, after: Simon – Hirmer 1976, pl. LI



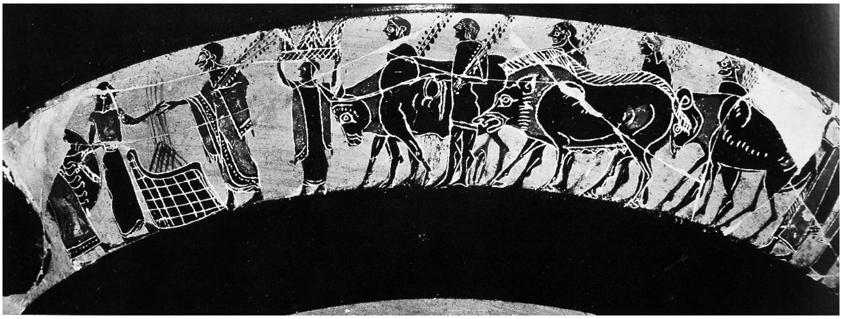
30. Hermes "Simonetti", Munich, Glyptothek DV 37 © Photosammlung Archäologisches Institut Heidelberg



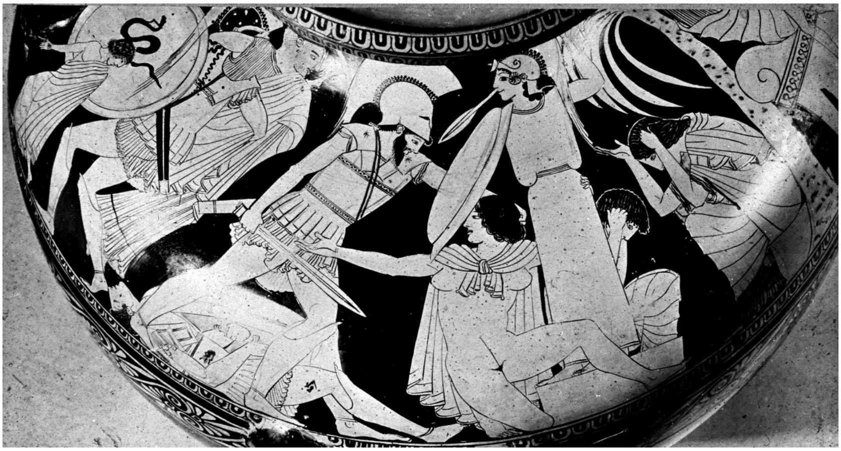
31. Hekateion, Athens, British School at Athens S 21, after: Willers 1975, pl. 30



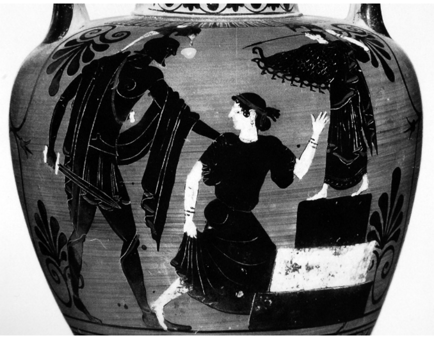
32. Black figure olpe, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 181, after: *CVA Bibl. Nat.* 1, pl. 35.1



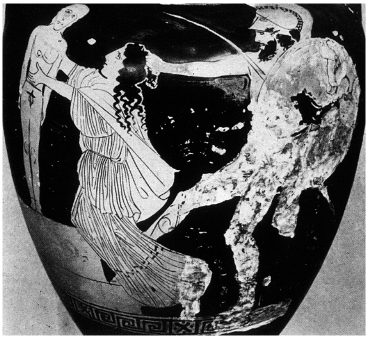
33. Black figure band cup, Paris, Niarchos Collection, after: *ThesCRA* I pl. 2 Gr. 67



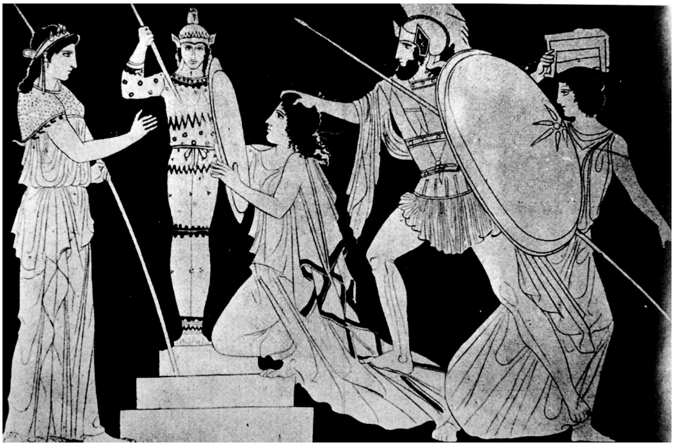
34. Red figure hydria, Naples, Mus. Naz. 2422, after: Simon – Hirmer 1976, pl. 129



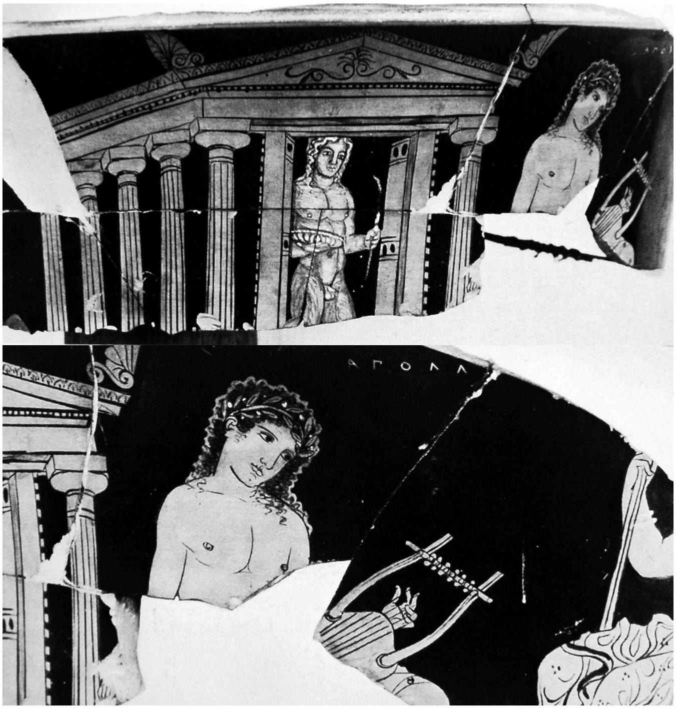
35. Black figure amphora, Art Market Geneva / New York, after: Kunze-Götte 1992, pl. 33.1



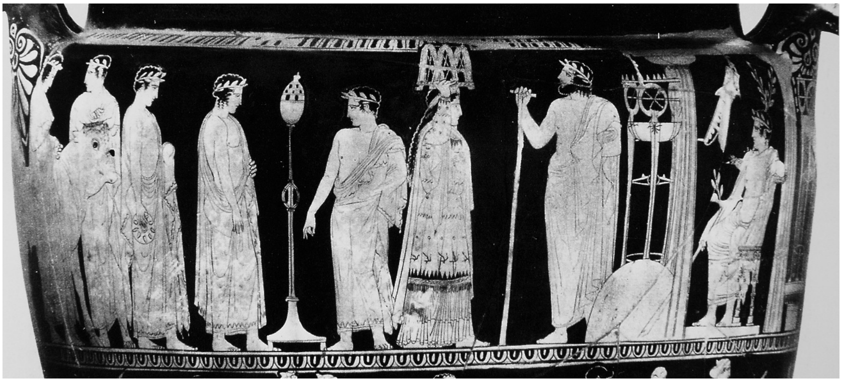
36. Red figure amphora, London, The British Museum E 336, after: *LIMC* IV.2, pl. 355.358



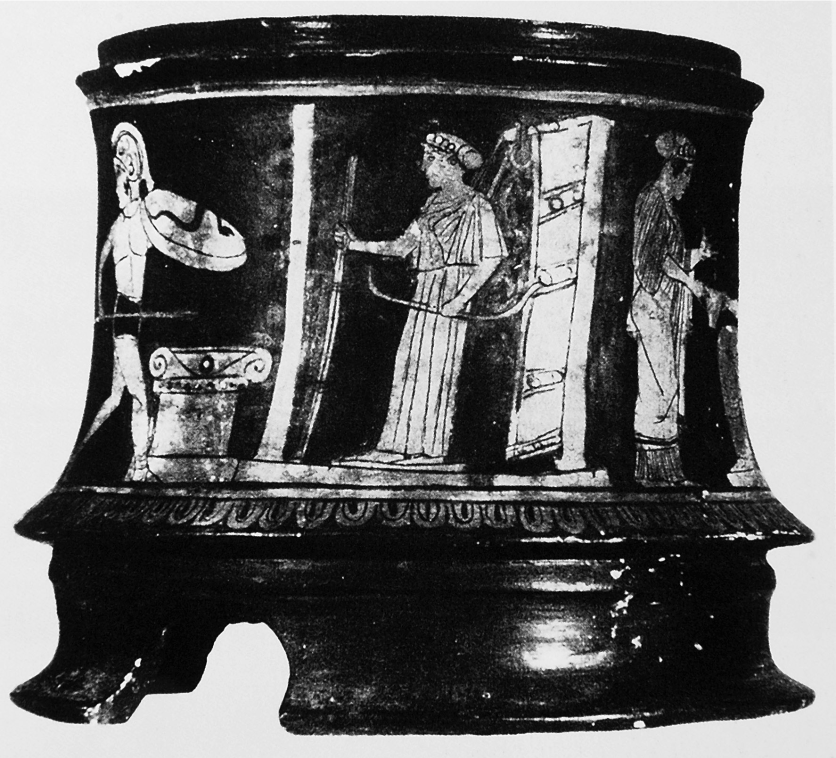
37. Red figure amphora, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, after: Mangold 2000, 55 fig. 33



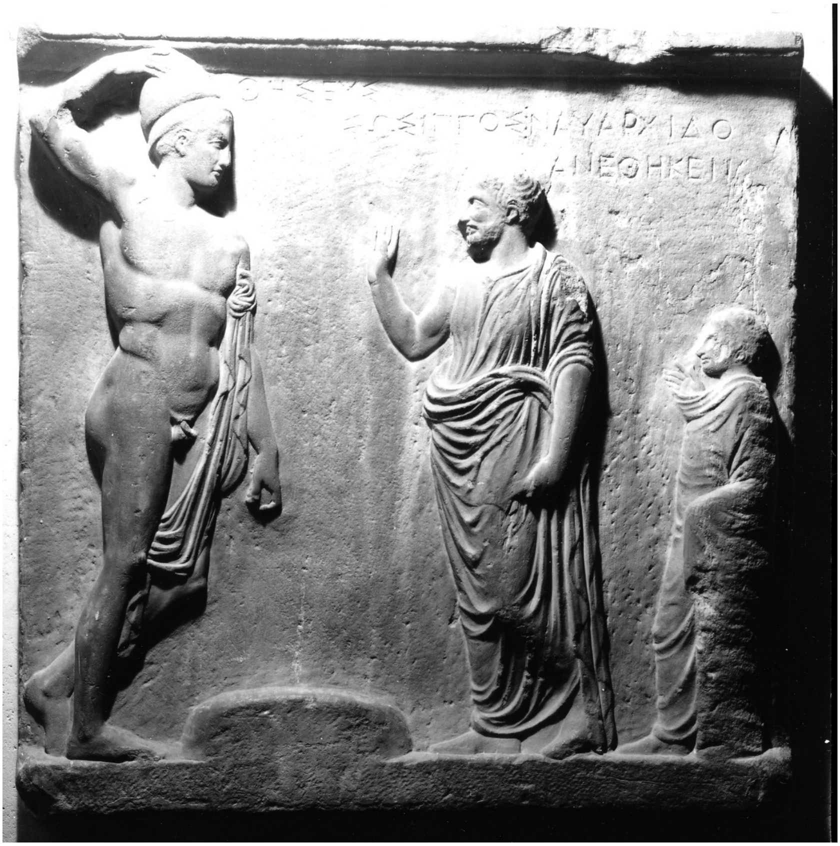
38. Red figure calyx-crater, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579, after: Trendall – Cambitoglou 1978, pl. 9.2a–b. Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam



39. Red figure volute-krater, Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 44894, after: *ThesCRA* I pl. 1 Gr. 52



40. Red figure pyxis, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81908 (H3010), after: *ThesCRA* II pl. 75.272



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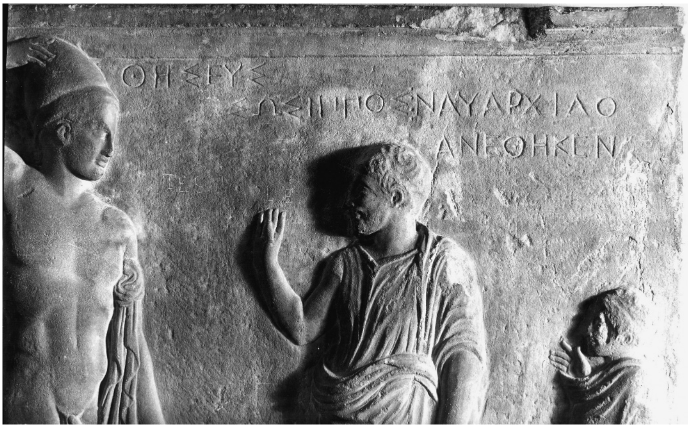
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ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΛΟ
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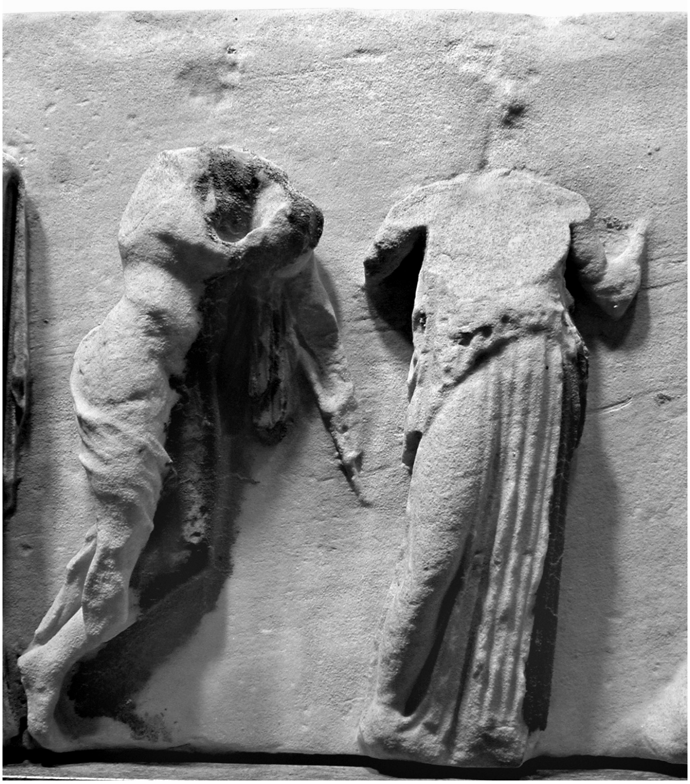
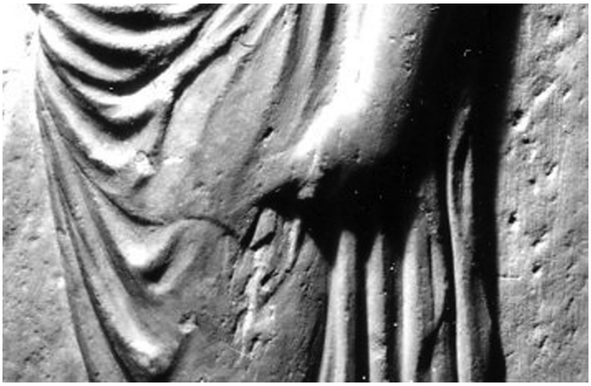
42. Votive relief, Paris, Louvre Ma 743 (detail: inscription) © M. and P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris



43. Figure no. 11 on the east frieze of temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens © Hans-Ruprecht Goette



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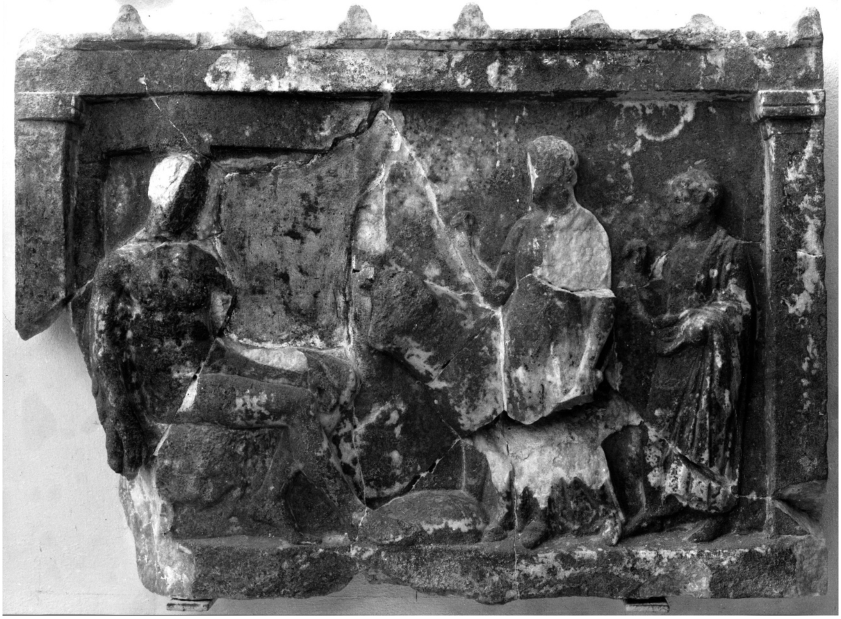
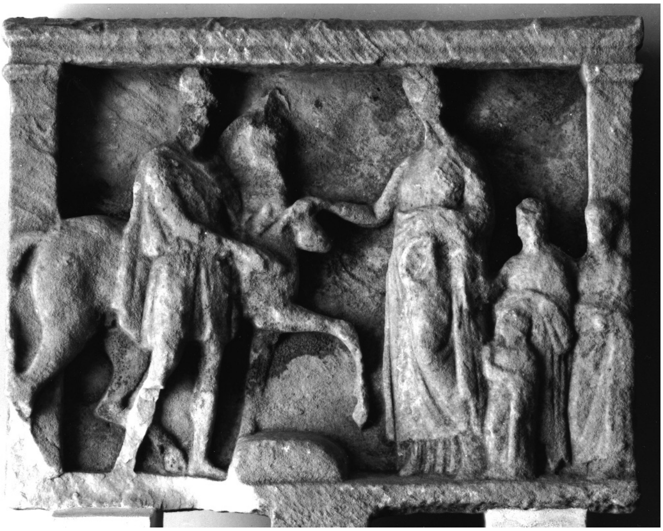
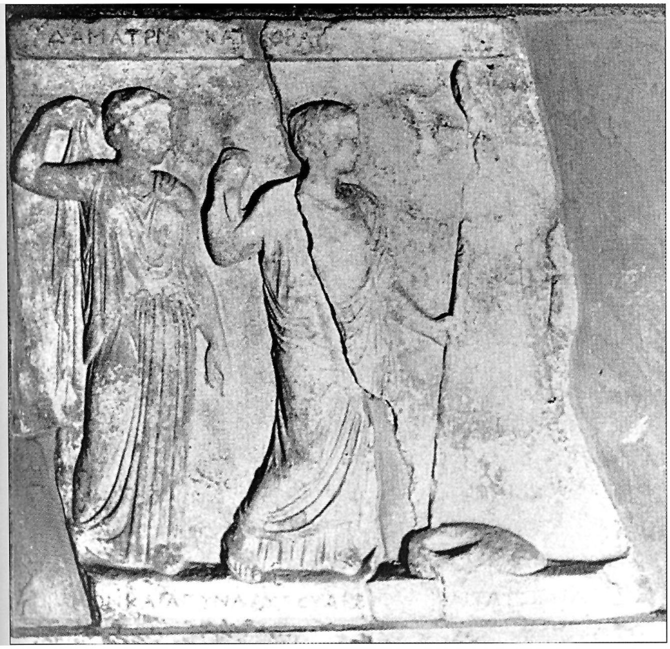
P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris



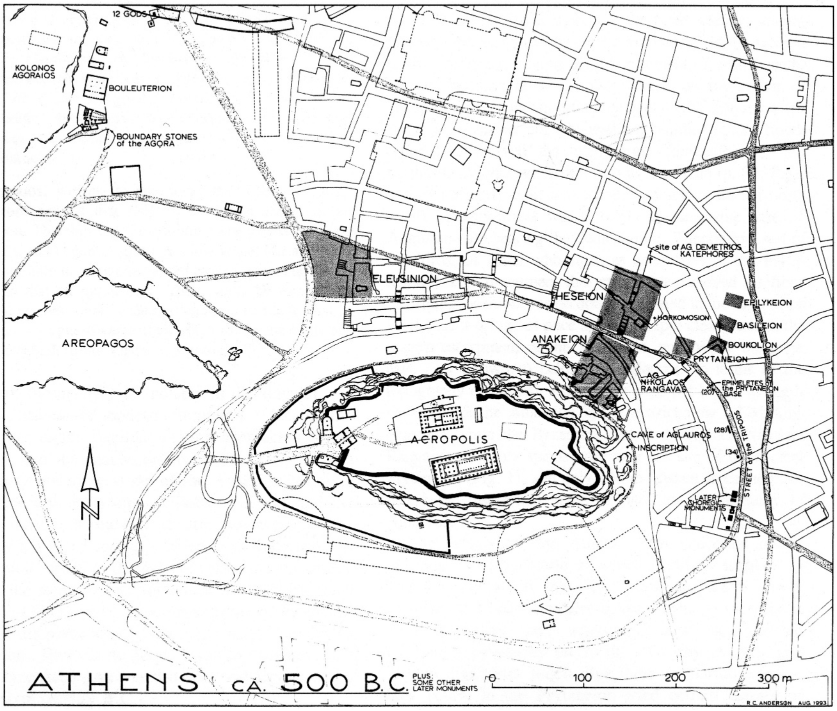
45. Votive relief, Eretria Museum inv. no. 631 © Ministry of Culture,
Eleventh Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquitites, Chalkis



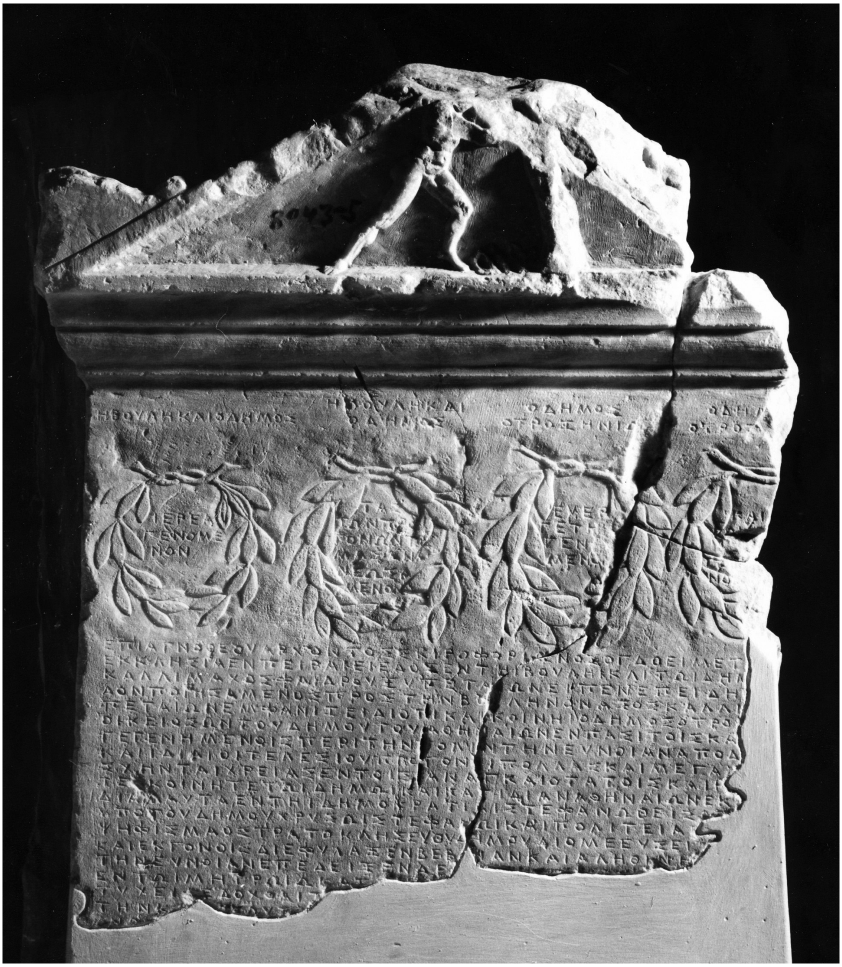
46. Votive relief, Thasos Museum inv. no. 31 © École Française d' Athènes (Photo B. Holtzmann, neg. no. 32.269)



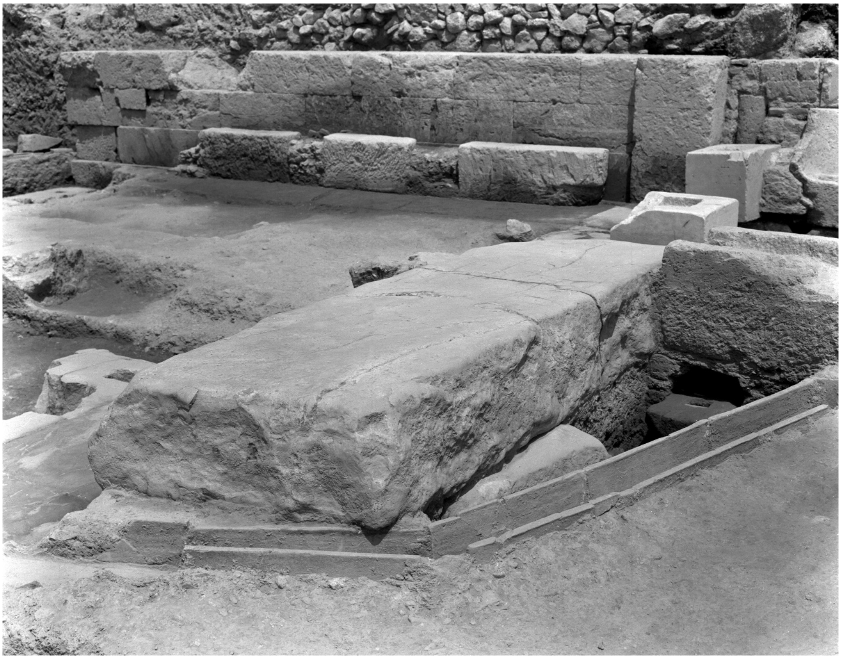
47. Votive relief, Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino, after: Comella 2002a, 93 fig. 88


12 GODS
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
BOULEUTERION
BOUNDARY STONES of the AGORA
AREOPAGOS
ELEUSINION
site of AG. DEMETRIOS KATEPHORES
THESEION
EPILYKEION
HORKOMOSION
BASILEION
ANAKEION
BOUKOLION
PRYTANEION
AG. NIKOLAOS RANGAVAS
EPIMELETES of the PRYTANEION BASE
(20)
(28)
CAVE of AGLAUROS
INSCRIPTION
(34)
ACROPOLIS
STREET of the TRIPODS
LATER CHOREGIC MONUMENTS
N
ATHENS CA. 500 B.C.
PLUS: SOME OTHER LATER MONUMENTS
0
100
200
300 m
R.C. ANDERSON AUG. 1993

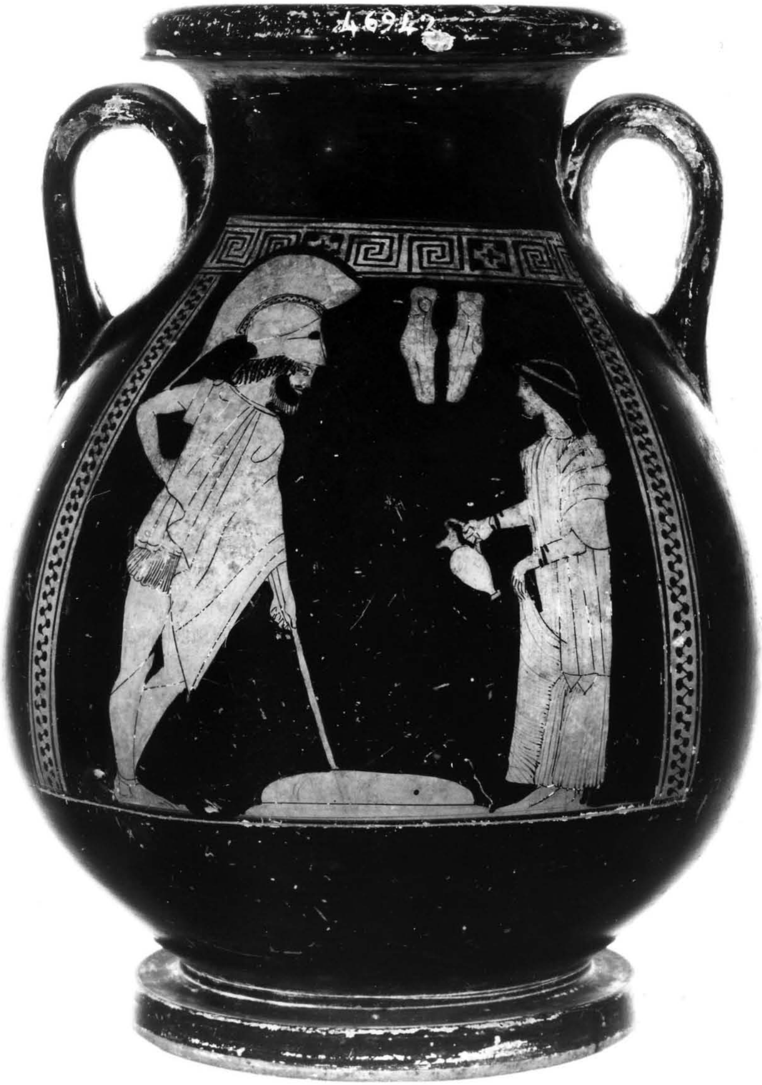
48. Suggested location of the Archaic Agora north-east of the Athenian Acropolis, after: Shear 1994, 226 fig. 1 (reproduced with the permission of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)



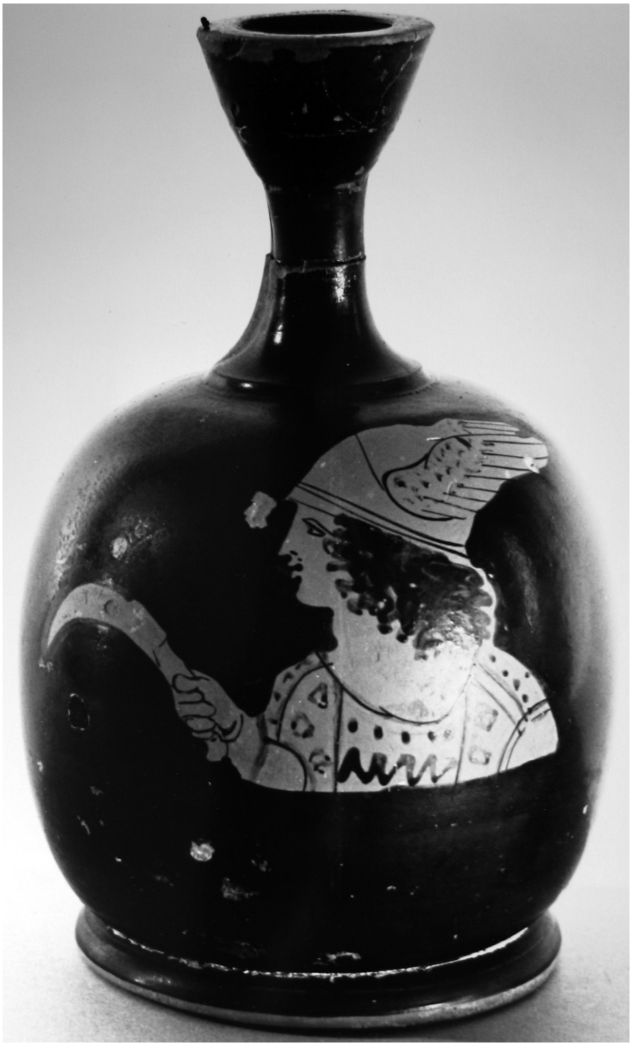
49. Honorary decree from Athens for Telesias of Troizen, 140/39 BCE, Athens, Epigraphical Museum inv. no. 8043 + 8044 + 8054 © Epigraphical Museum, Athens



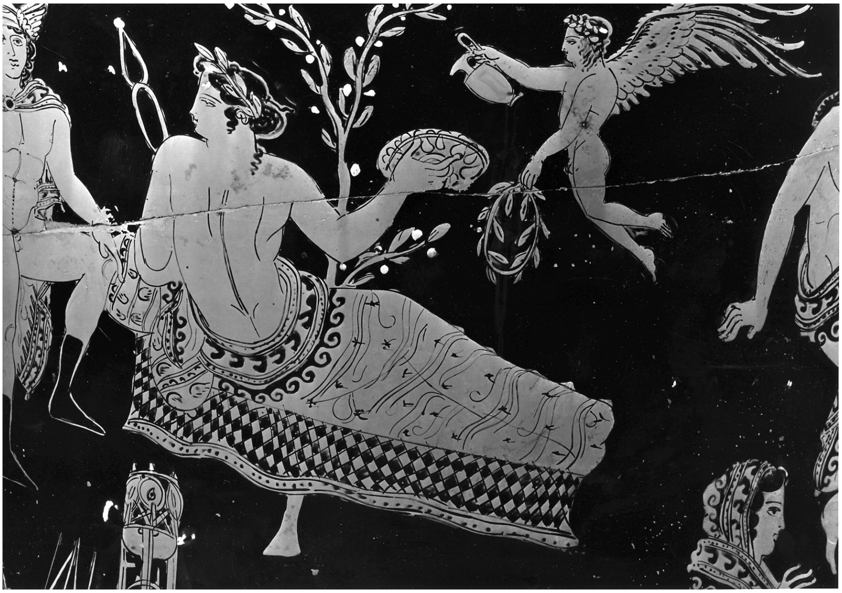
50. The Lithos © American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations



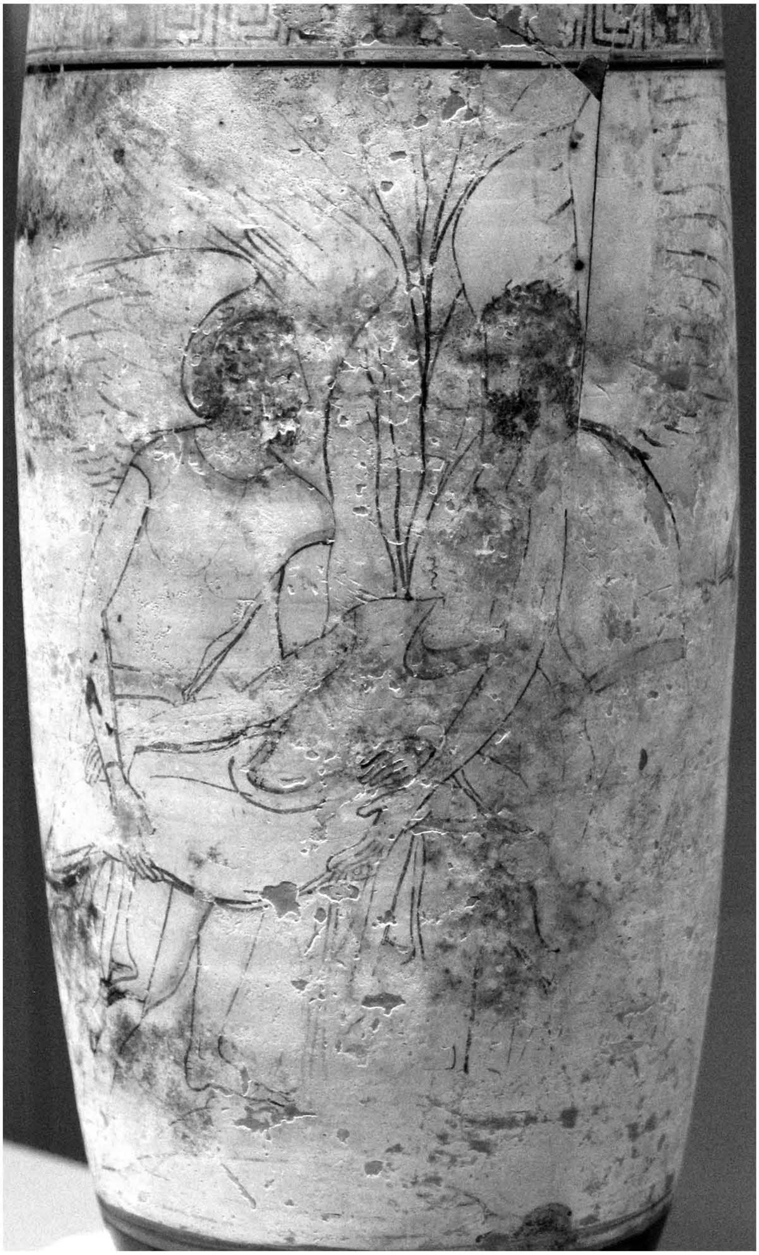
51. Red figure pelike, Rome, Villa Giulia 46942 © Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale (photo n. 131141)



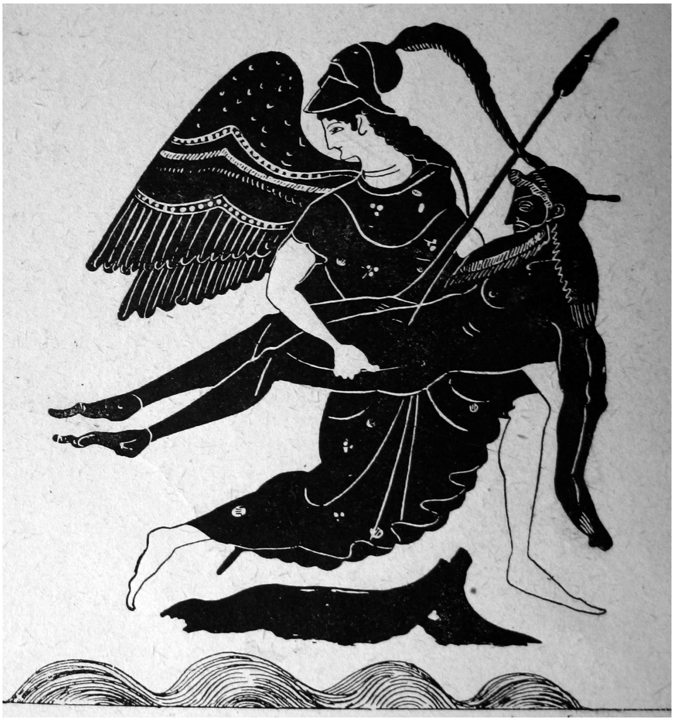
52. Red figure squat lekythos, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität 2704 © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Bonn



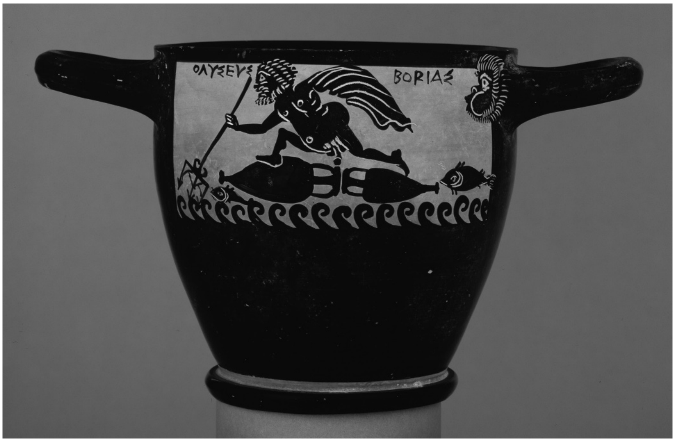
53. Red figure krater, Schloss Fasanerie 77 © Hessische Hausstiftung, Museum Schloss Fasanerie, Eichenzell / Fulda



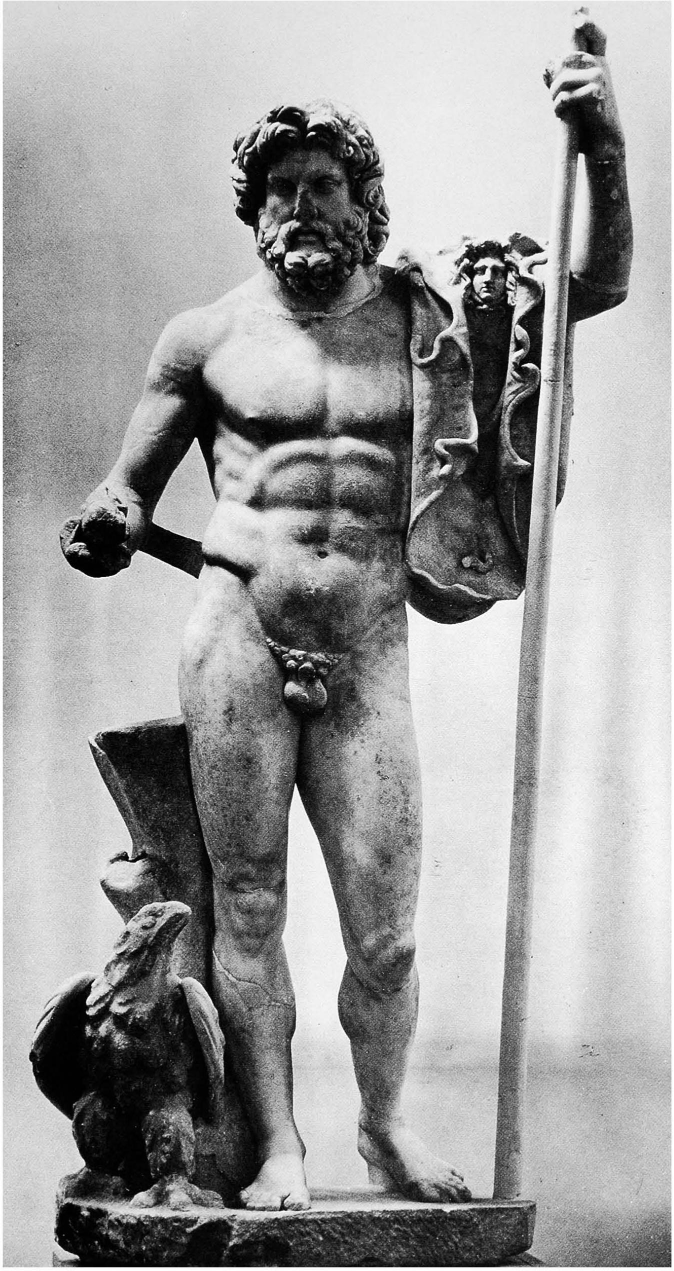
54. White ground lekythos, Athens, National Museum 12782 © Author



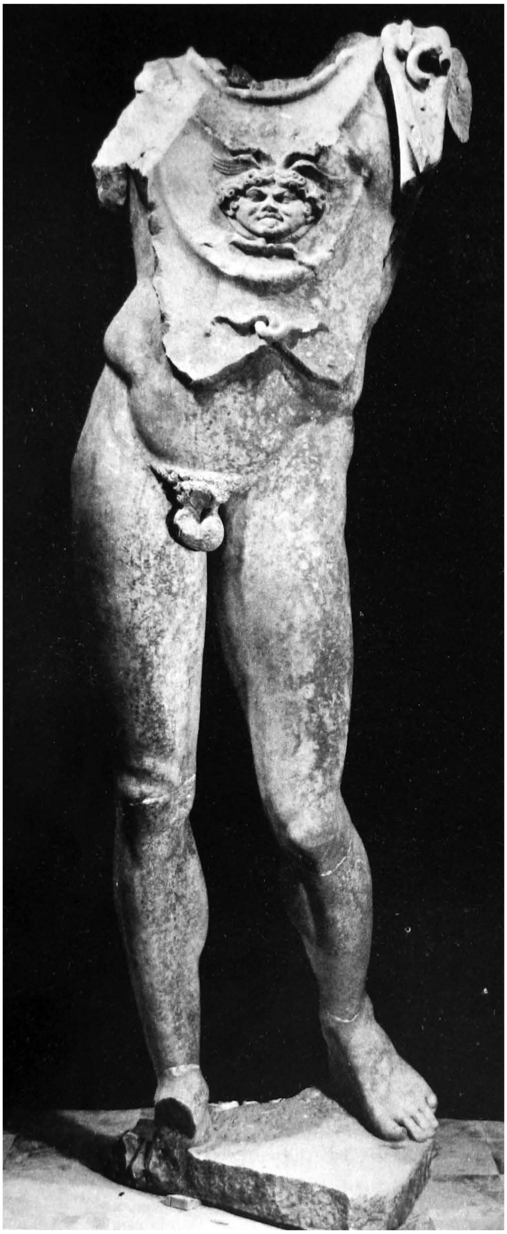
55. Black figure olpe, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 260 (drawing), after: Anti 1920, 288 fig. 9



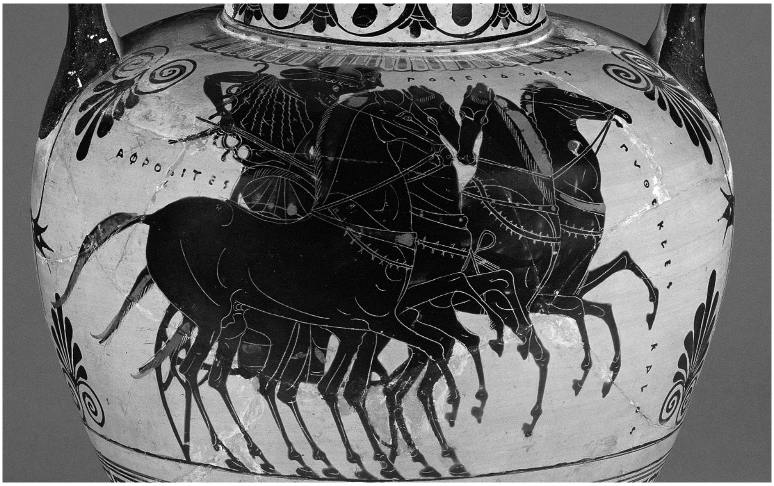
56. Boeotian black figure skyphos, Oxford, Asmolean Museum V262 © Ashmolean Museum



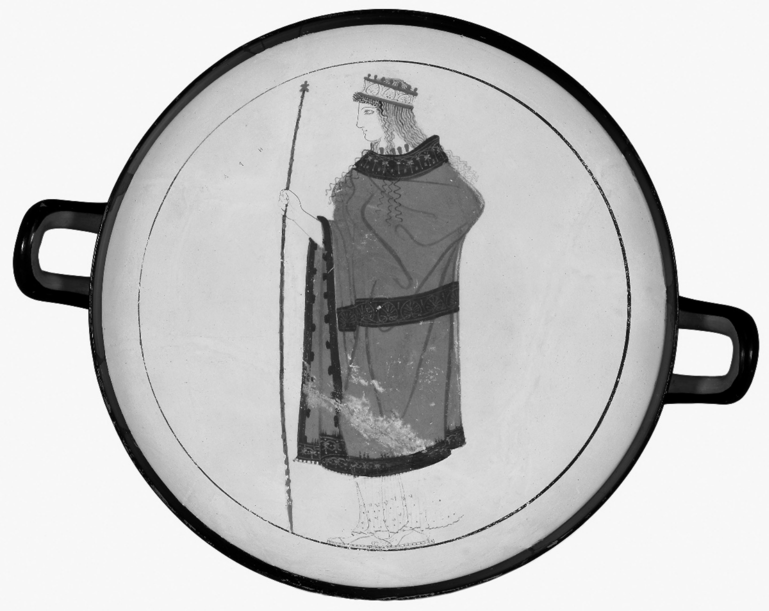
57. Marble statue of Jupiter Aigiochos, Cyrene Museum 14.131, after: Canciani 1997, fig. 117b.



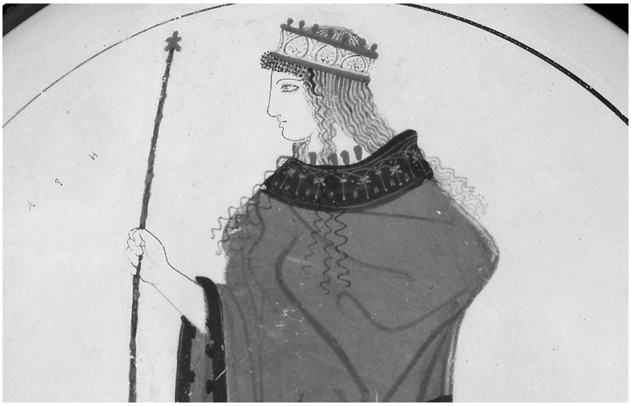
58. Marble statue, Aigion, Archaeological Museum, after: Petsas 1972, 498 fig. 1. Reproduced with permission of the Sixth Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquitites, Patras


ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕΣ
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝΟΣ

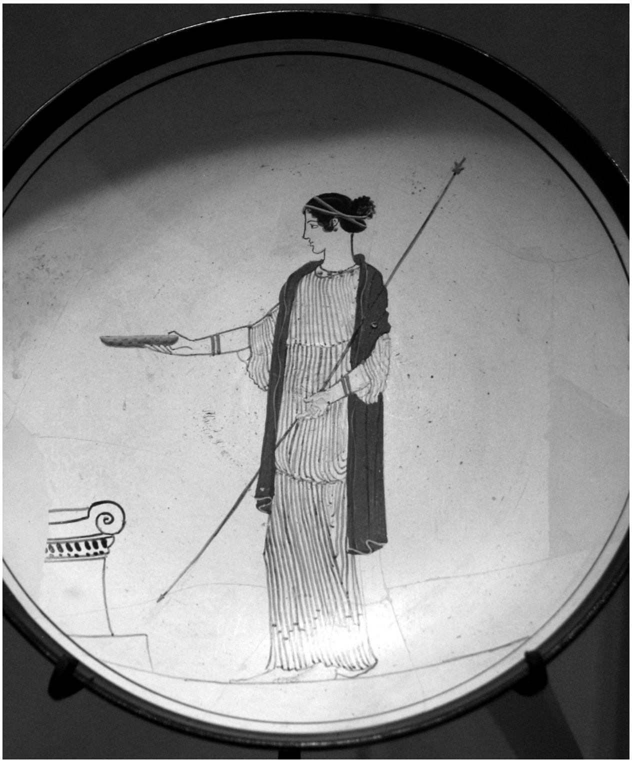
59. Black figure amphora, London, The British Museum B254 © The Trustess of The British Museum



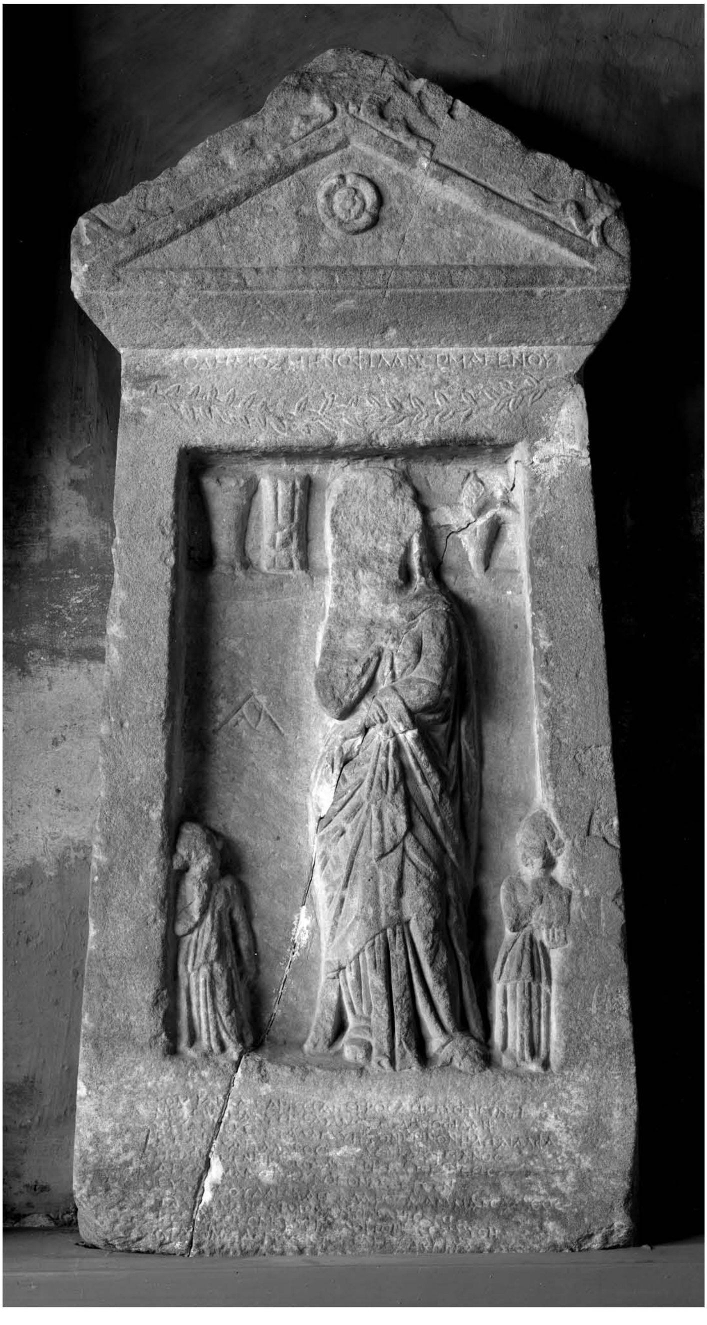
60. Kylix, Munich, Antikensammlungen J336 © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek



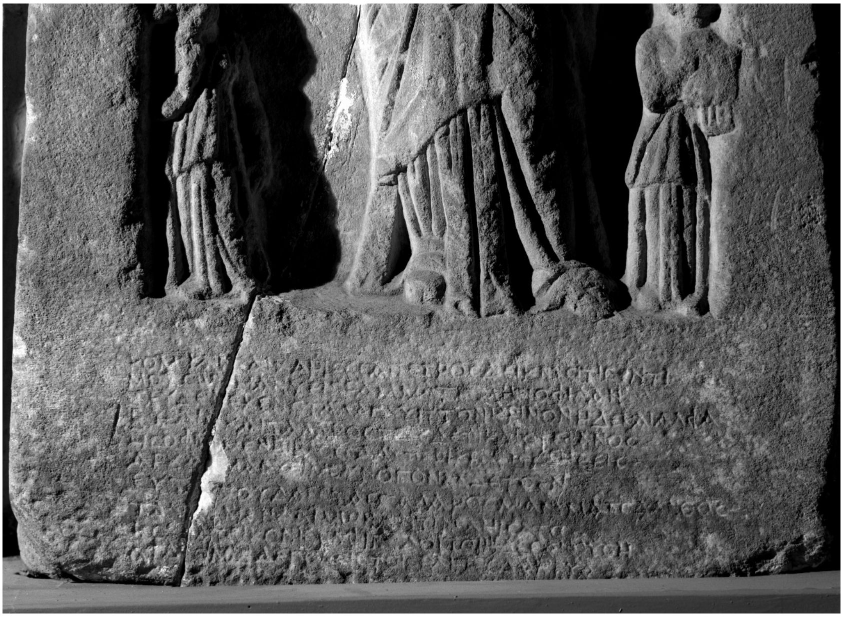
61. Kylix, Munich, Antikensammlungen J336 (detail)
© Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek



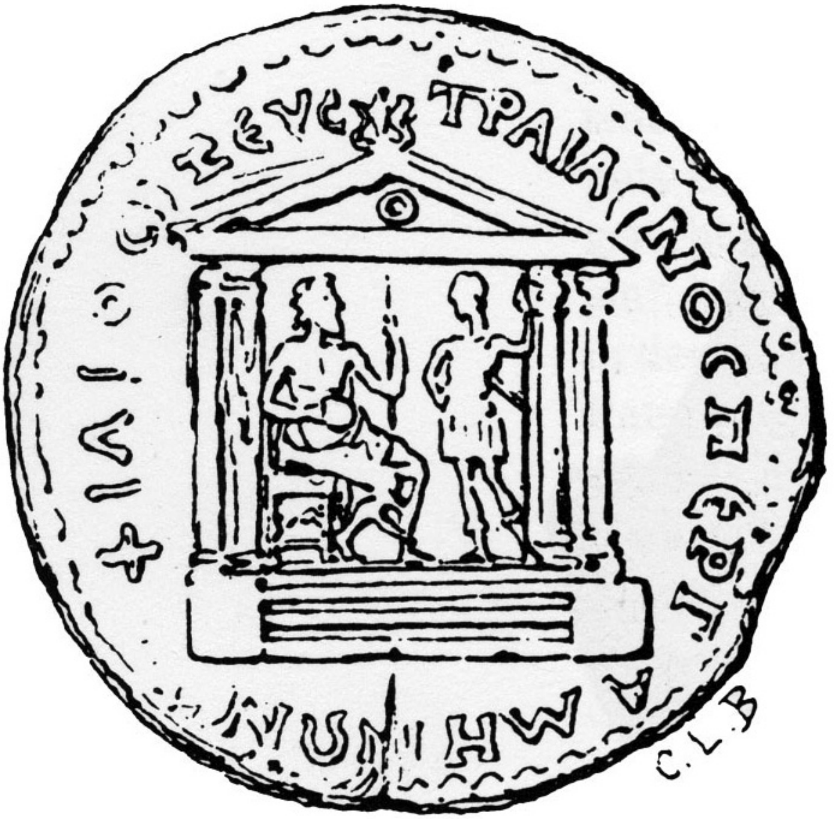
62. Kylix, New York, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art 1979.11.15 © Author


Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΑΝ ΕΡΜΑΓΕΝΟΥ

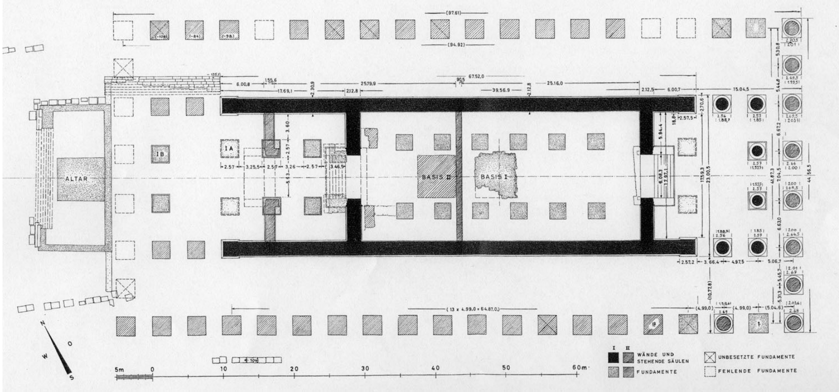
63. Grave stele from Sardis, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4033
© German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul (D-DAI-IST 73/4)



64. Grave stele from Sardis (detail), Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4033
© German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul (D-DAI-IST R 6196)


ΖΕΥC
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC
C.L.B

65. Pergamenean coin (drawing), after: Stiller 1895, 53 fig. 3


ALTAR
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WÄNDE UND STEHENDE SÄULEN
FUNDAMENTE
UNBESETZTE FUNDAMENTE
FEHLENDE FUNDAMENTE
5m
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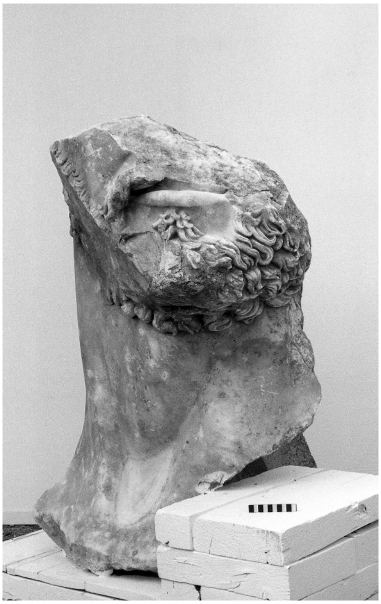
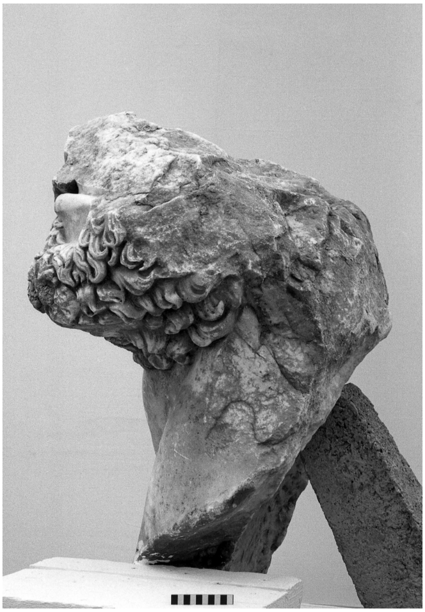
30
40
50
60m

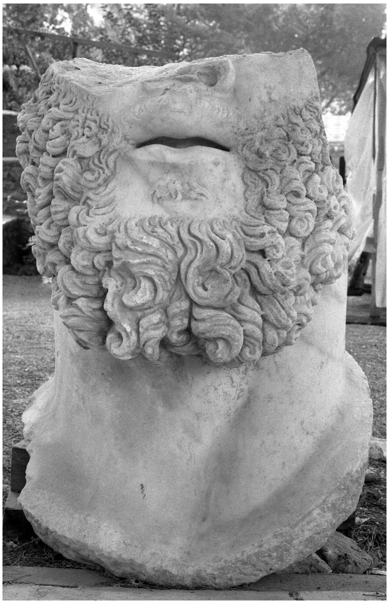
66. The temple of Artemis at Sardis, after: Gruben 1961, pl. 5



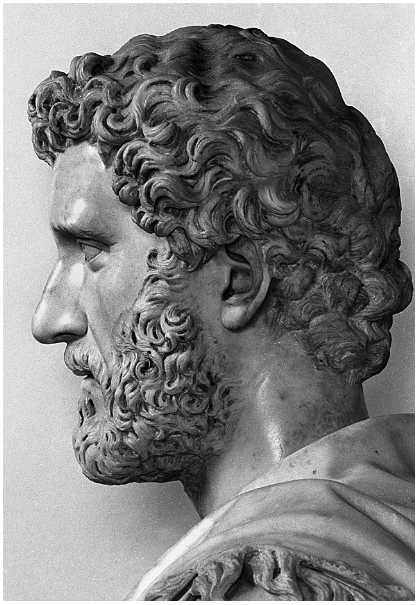
67. Portrait of Antoninus Pius from Sardis © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 71.094:25 (S 61.027.15:03489)



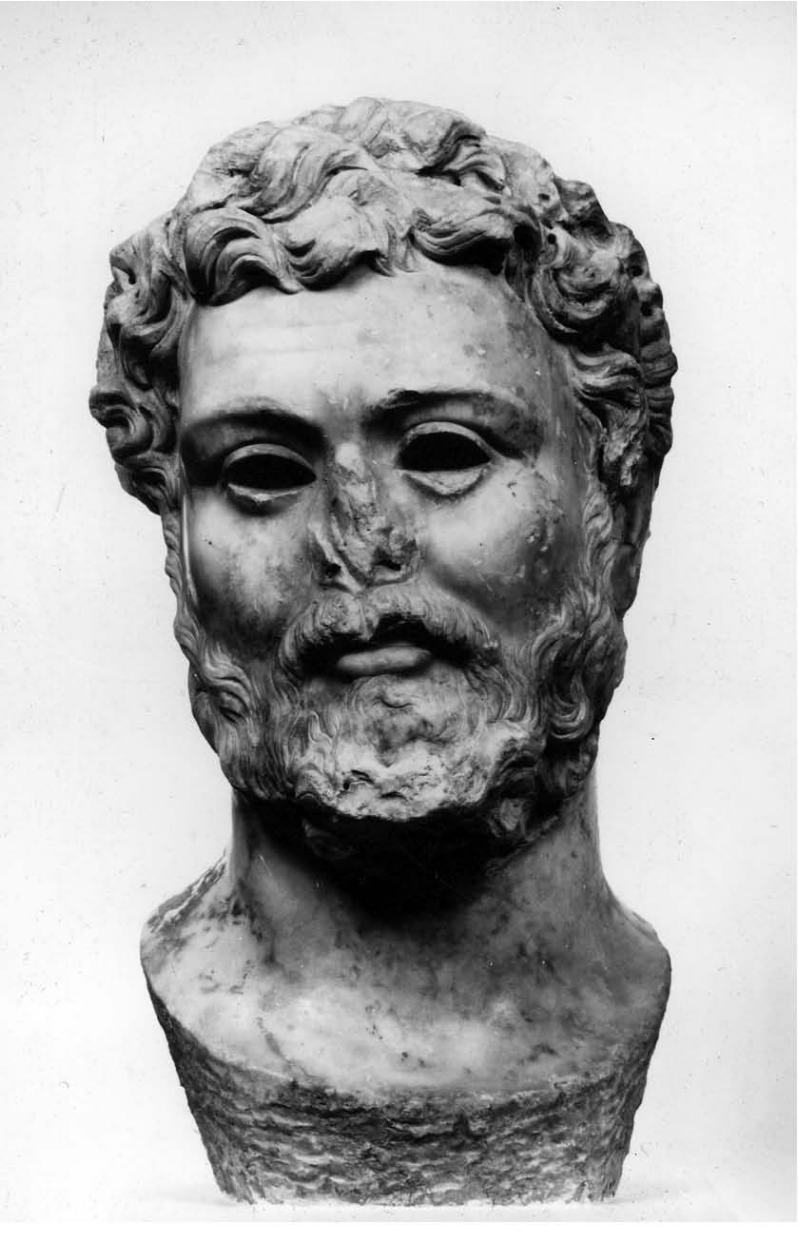
68. Portrait of Antoninus Pius from Sardis (side view) © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 71.094:18 (S 61.027.15:03489)



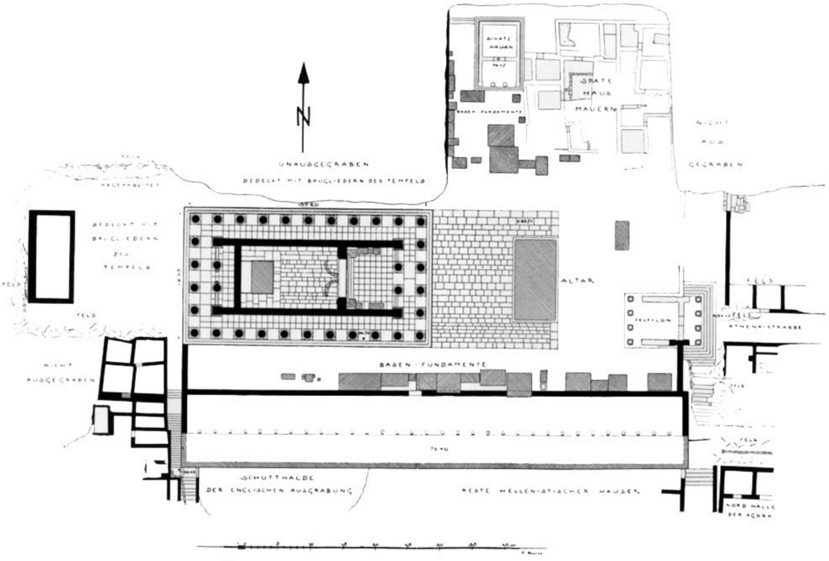
69. Portrait of Lucius Verus from Sardis © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University, photograph no. 00.005:04 (S96.008:10484)



70. Portrait of Antoninus Pius (side view), Castle Howard / Yorkshire, Carlisle Collection © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln (Neg. FA 1665–07)



71. Portrait of Septimius Severus from the Athenian Agora, Athens, National Museum 3563 © National Archaeological Museum, Athens


N
FELS
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BEDECKT MIT BAUGLIEDERN DES TEMPELS
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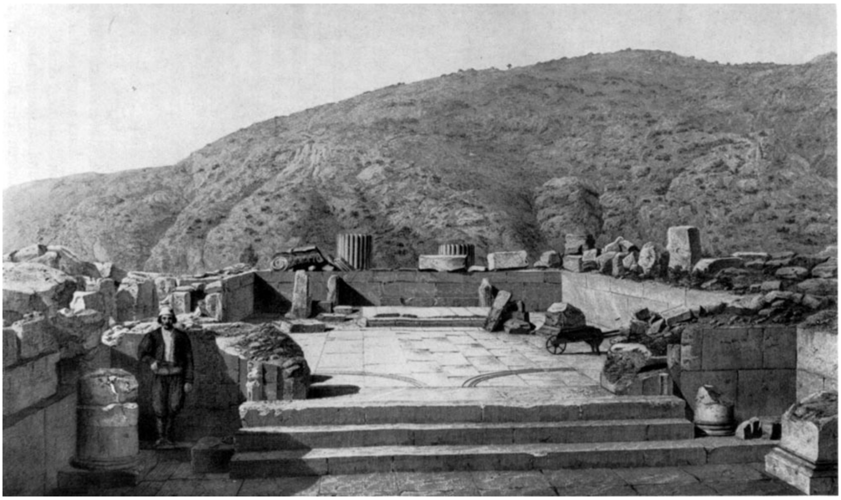
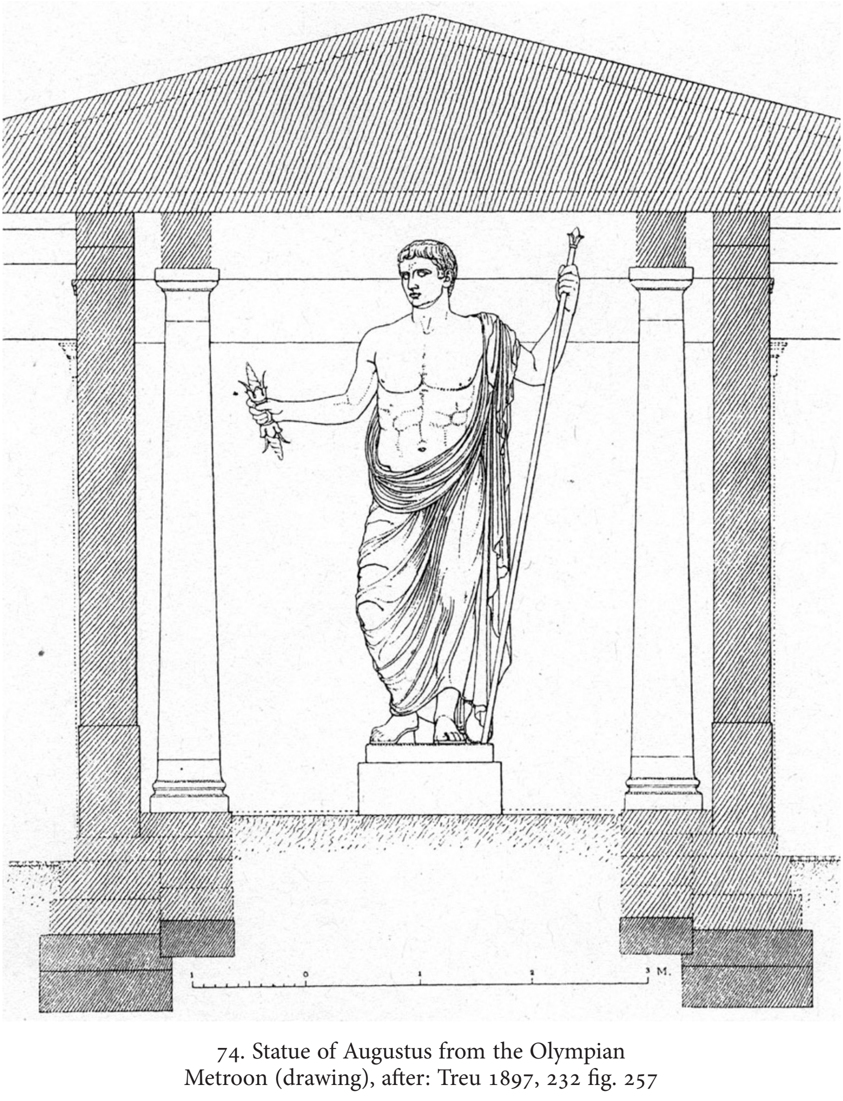
SCHATZ HAUS
BASEN FUNDAMENTE
SPÄTE HAUS MAUERN
NICHT AUS GEGRABEN
ALTAR
FELS
PROPYLON
FELS
ATHENA-STRASSE
BASEN-FUNDAMENTE
FELS
FELS
SCHUTTHALDE DER ENGLISCHEN AUSGRABUNG
RESTE HELLENISTISCHER HÄUSER
NORD HALLE DER AGORA

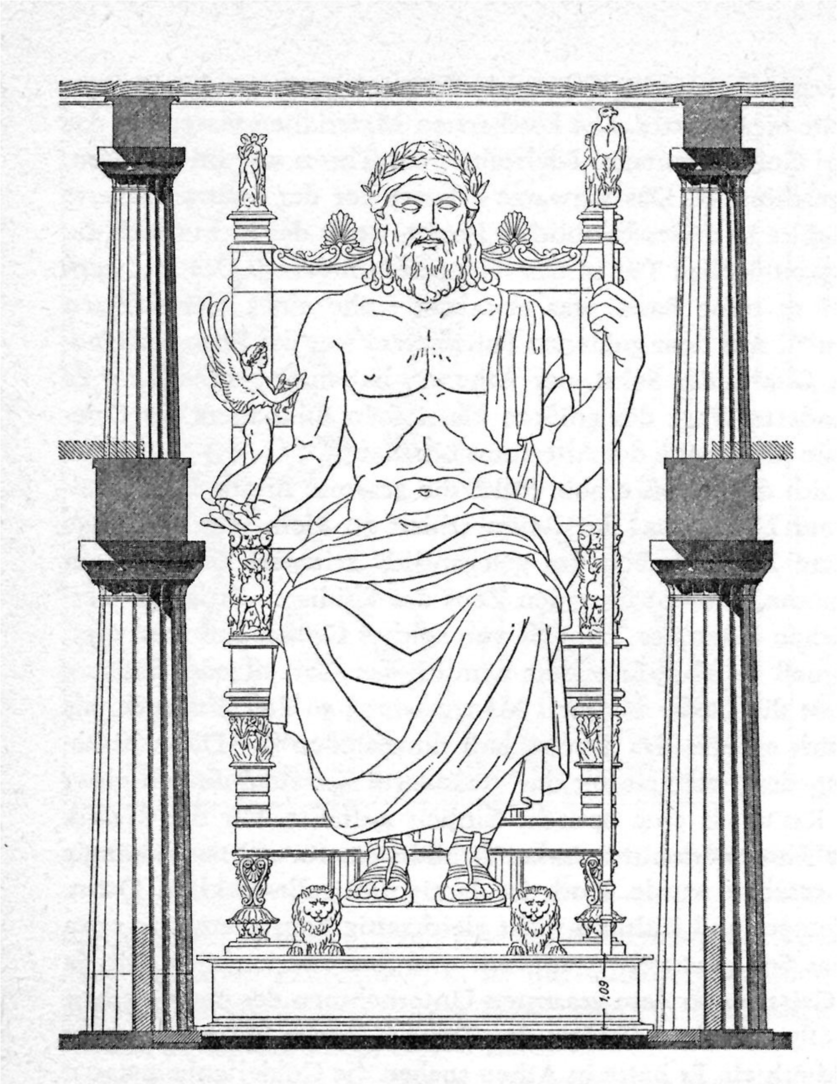
72. The temple of Athena at Priene, after: Schrader 1906, pl. 9



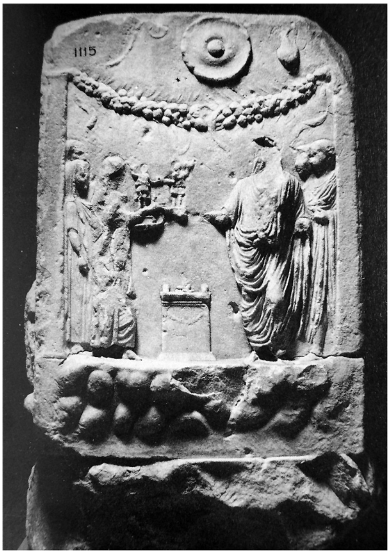
73. The temple of Athena at Priene (the cella), after: Pullan 1881, pl. 15



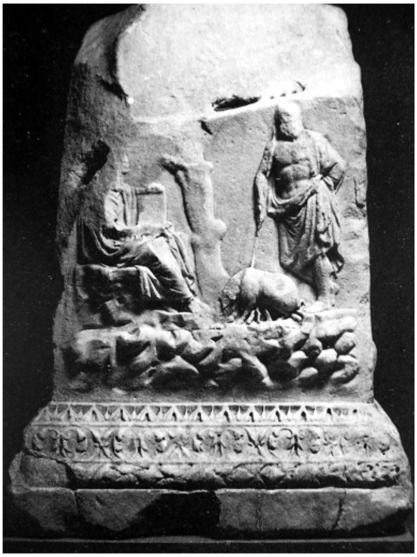
74. Statue of Augustus from the Olympian Metroon (drawing), after: Treu 1897, 232 fig. 257



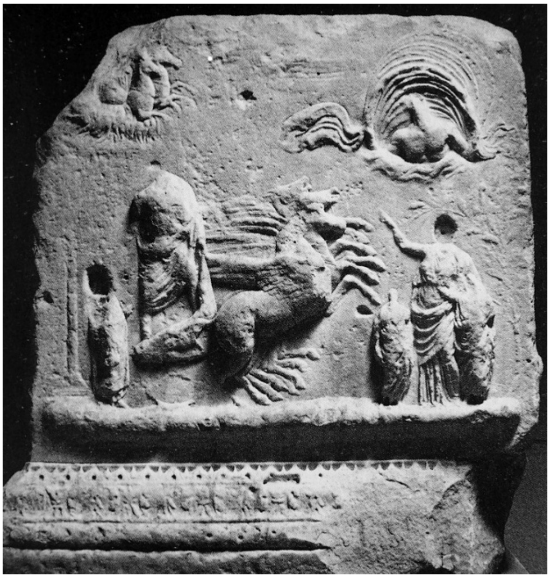
75. The chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia (drawing), after: Curtius – Adler 1892, Tafelband 1, pl. 11



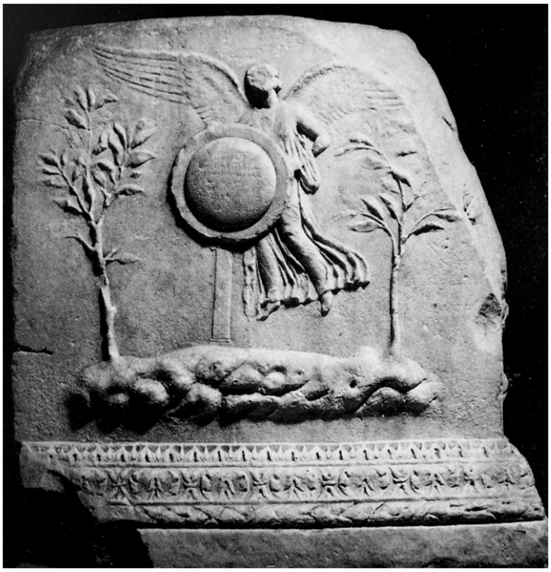
76. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (left narrow side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223



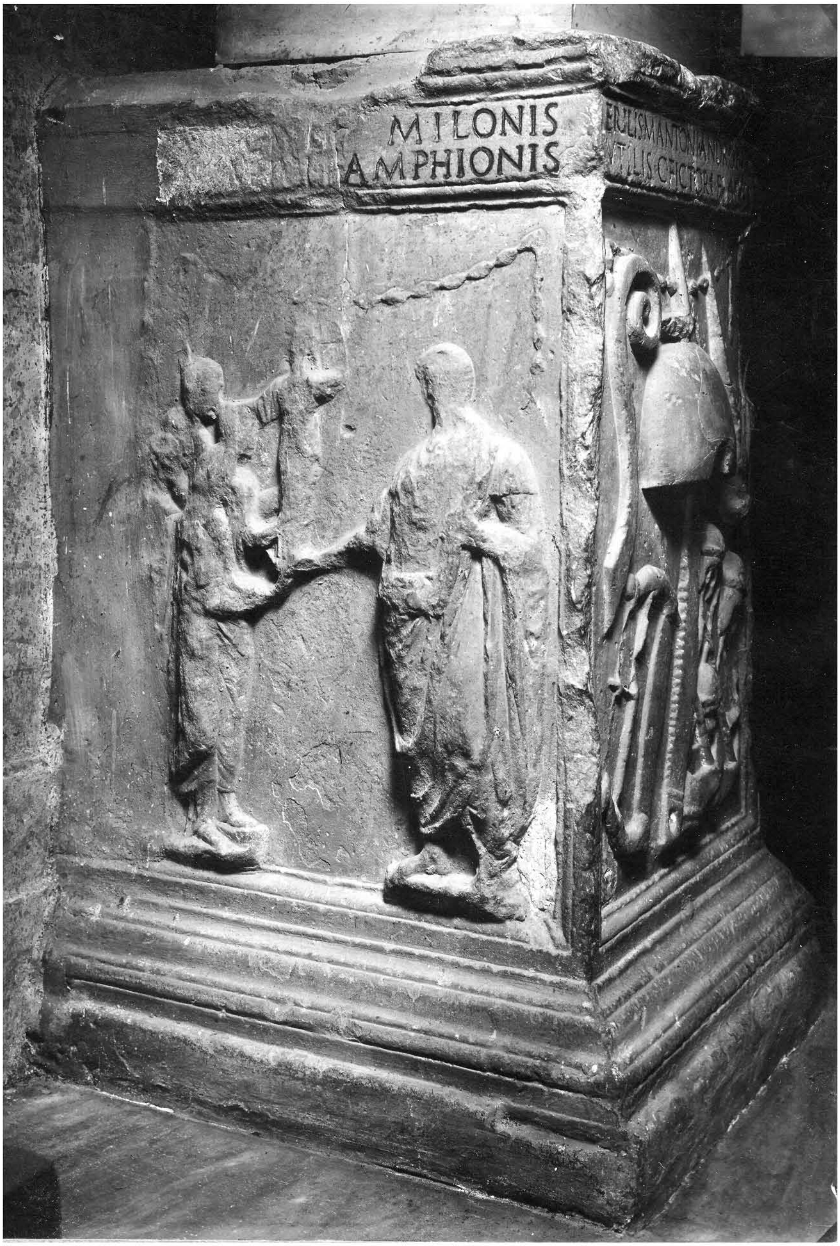
77. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (right narrow side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223



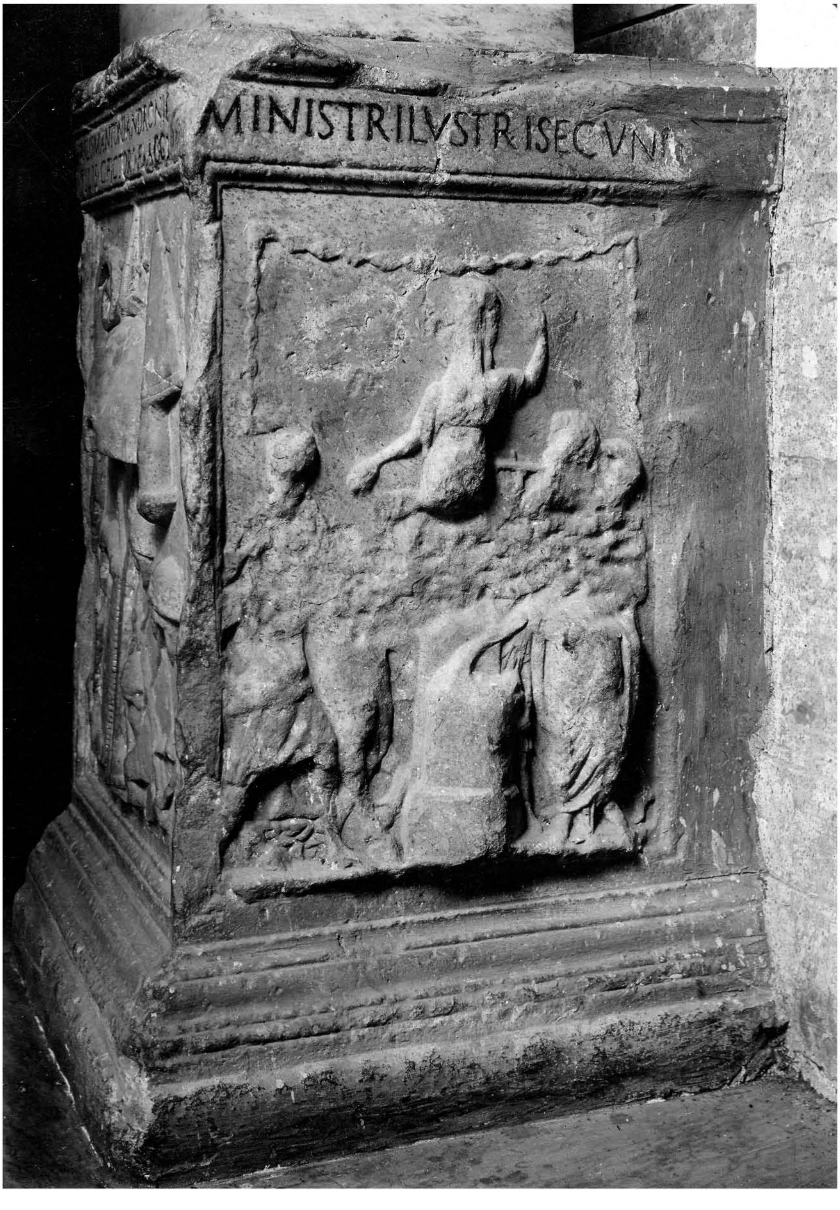
78. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (back side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223



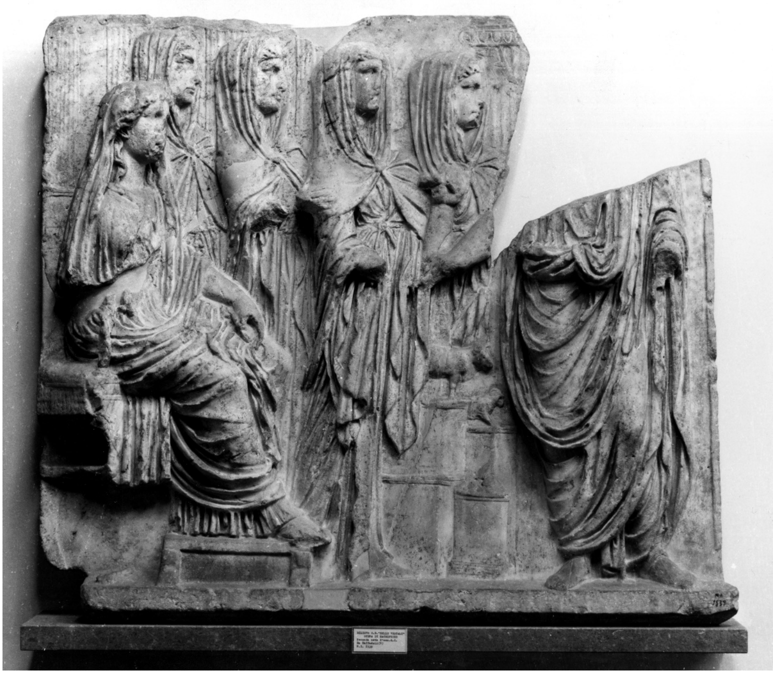
79. Altar of the Lares, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115 (front side), after: Hölscher 1988, cat. 223


MILONIS
AMPHIONIS

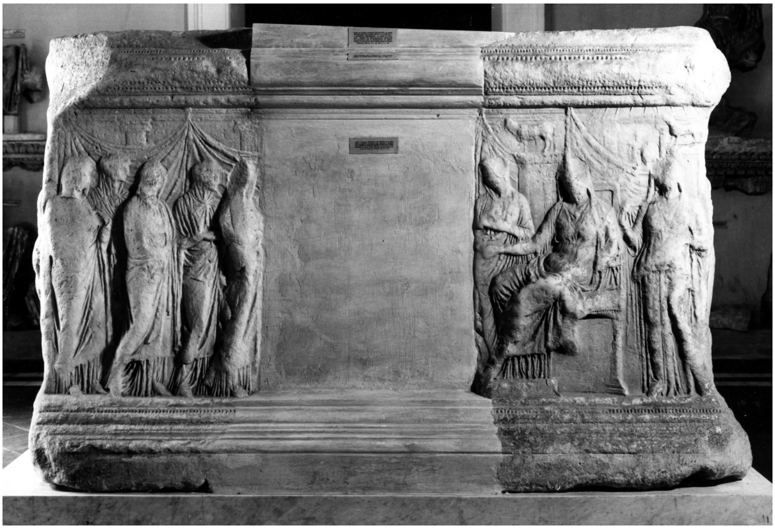
80. Altar dedicated to Minerva, Rome, Museo Capitolino
1909 (front side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome


MINISTRILVSTRISECVNI

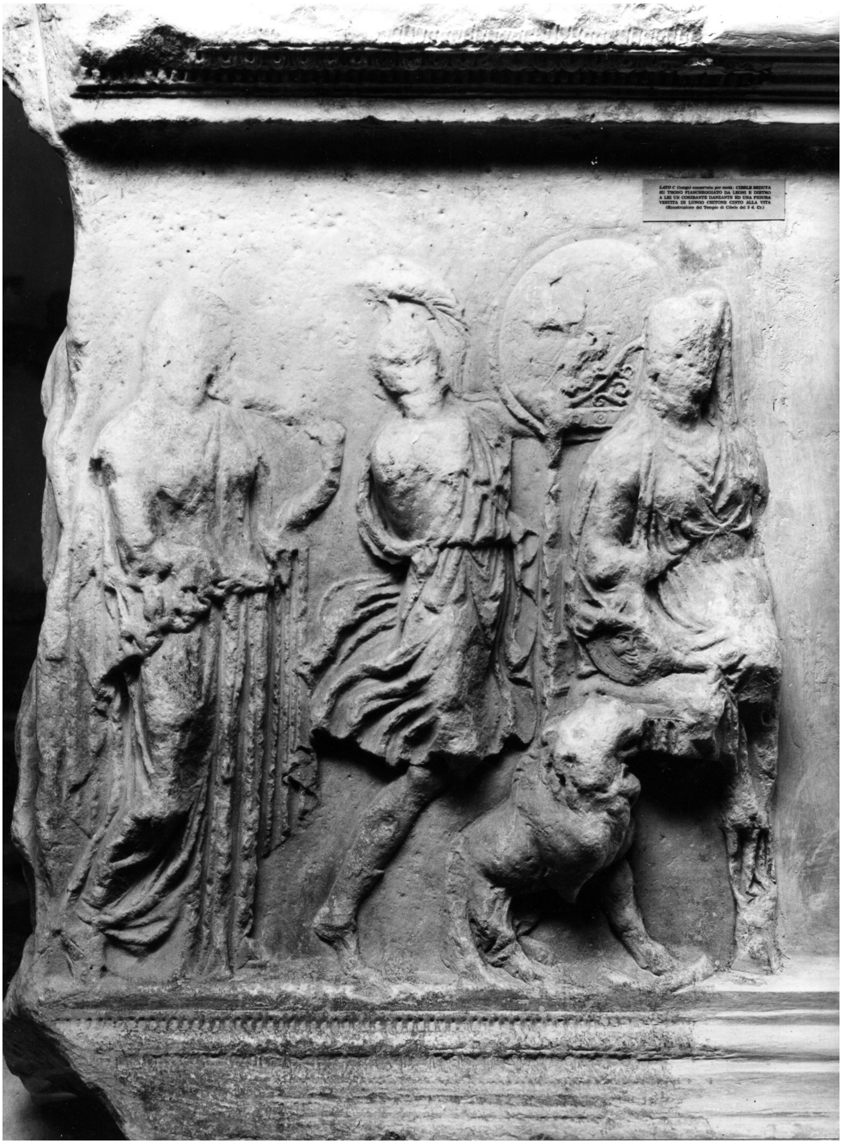
81. Altar dedicated to Minerva, Rome, Museo Capitolino 1909 (back side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome



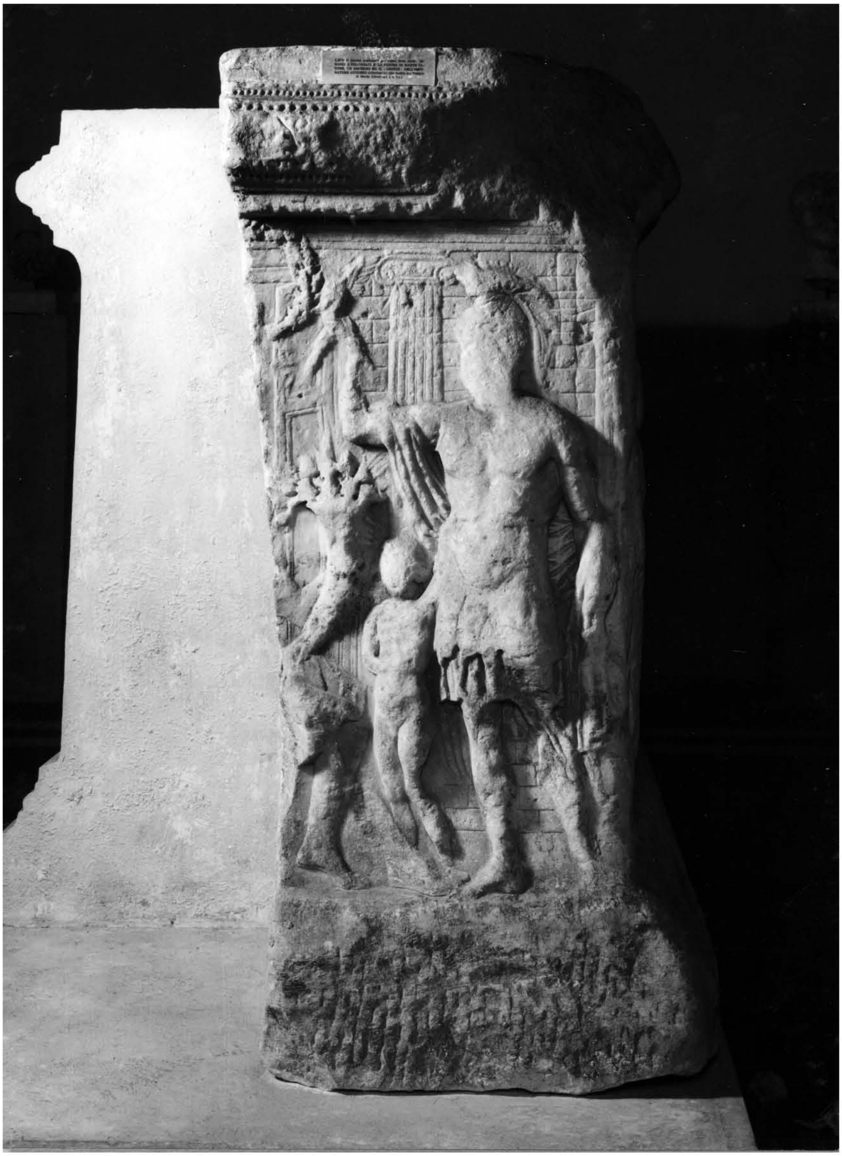
82. Vesta relief, Palermo, Museo Regionale 760 (1539) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome



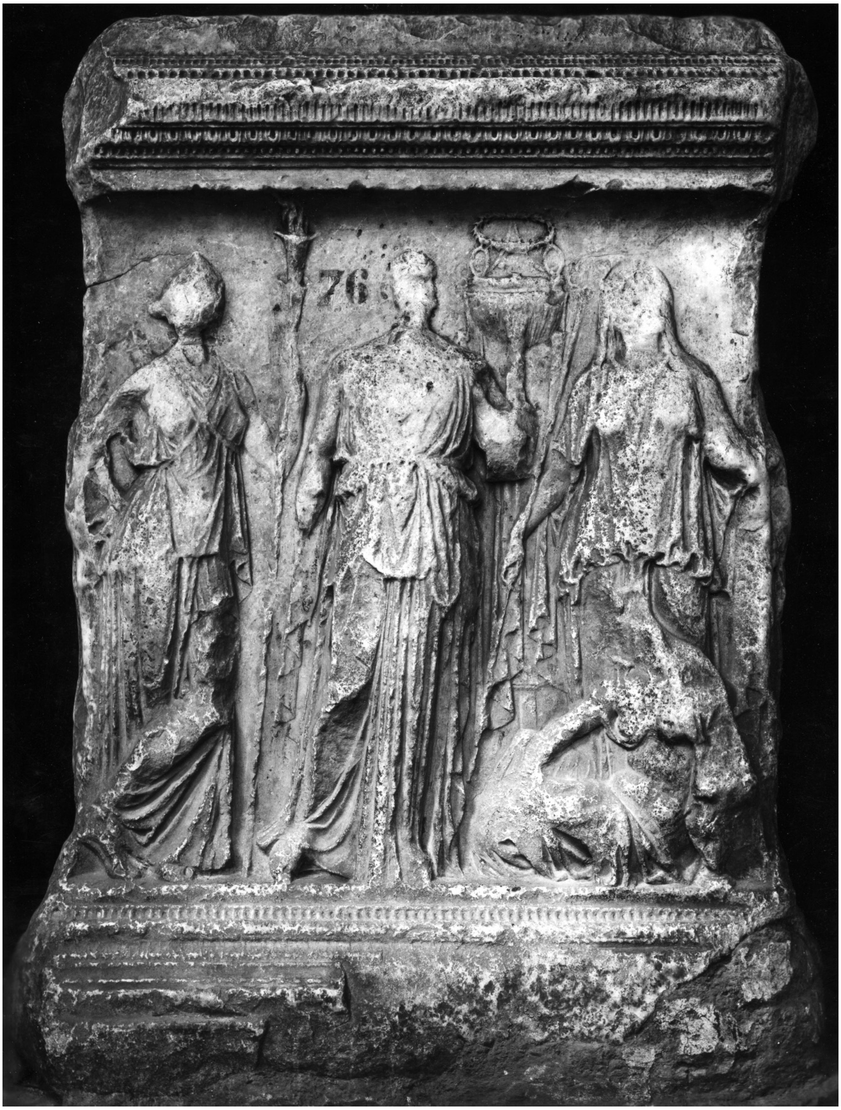
83. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (front side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome


LATO C (lungo) conservato per metà: CIBELE SEDUTA
SU TRONO FIANCHEGGIATO DA LEONI E DIETRO
A LEI UN CORIBANTE DANZANTE ED UNA FIGURA
VESTITA DI LUNGO CHITONE CINTO ALLA VITA
(Ricostruzione del Tempio di Cibele del 3 d. Cr.)

84. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (back side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome



85. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (left narrow side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome



86. Base from Sorrento, Sorrento, Museo Correale (right narrow side) © German Archaeological Institute, Rome